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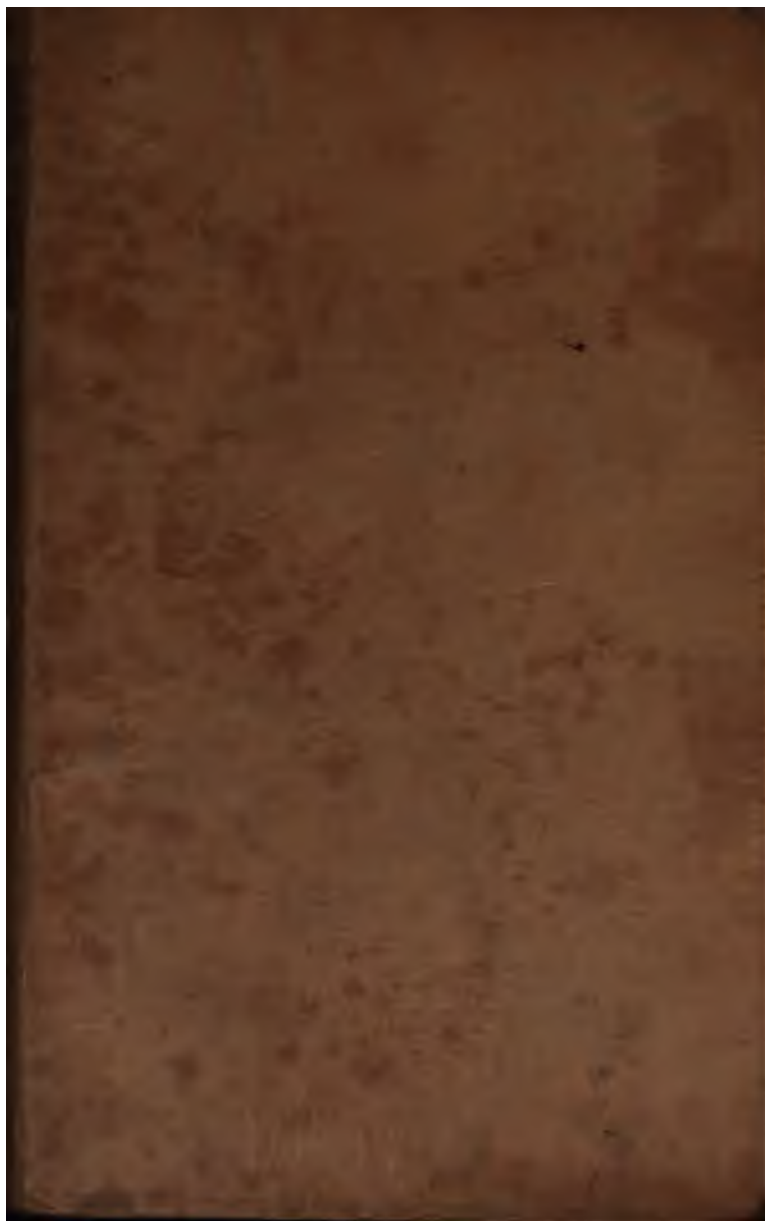
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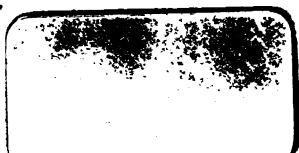
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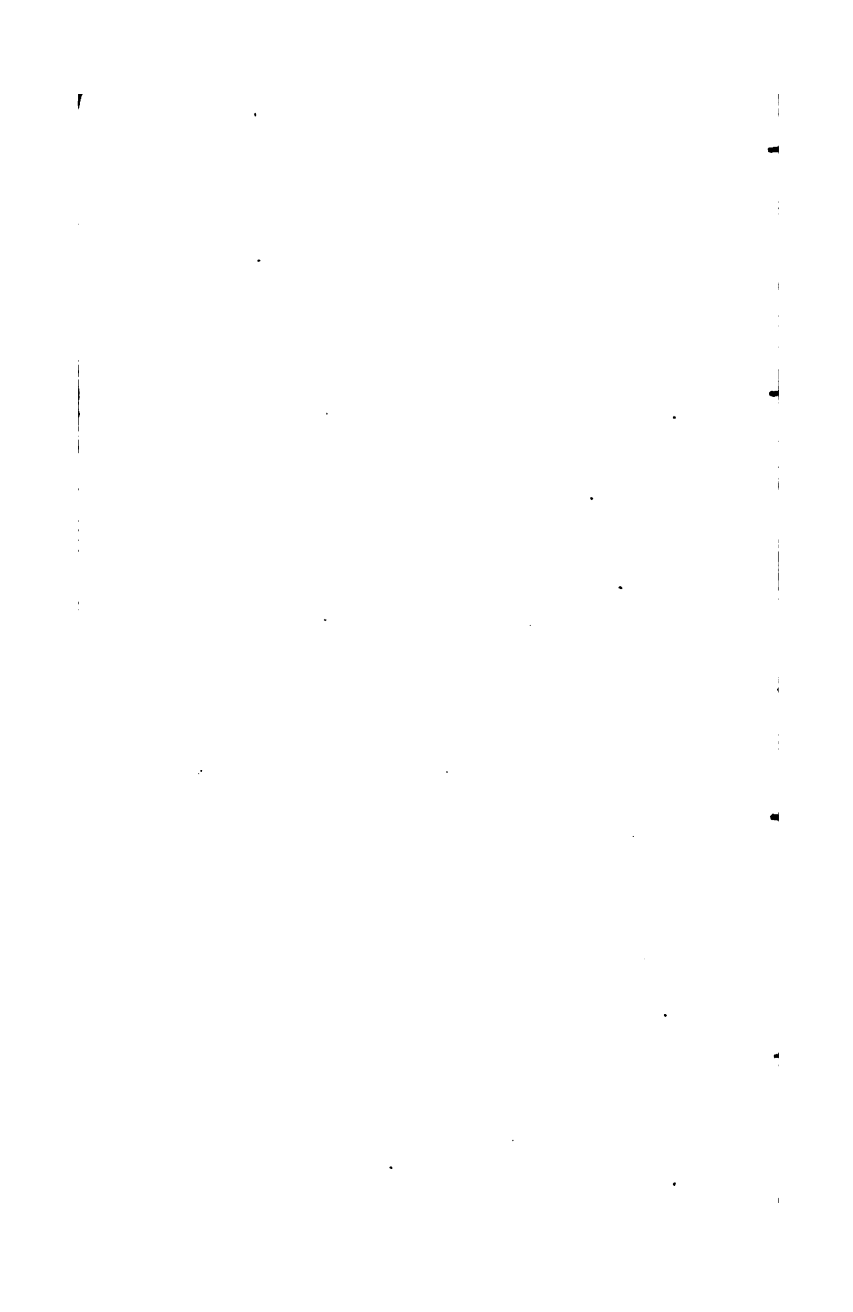


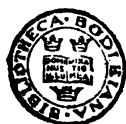
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JERUSALEM DESTROYED.







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The Prophet in Vision, mourning over Jerusalem destroyed
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JERUSALEM DESTROYED;

OR

THE HISTORY

OF THE

SIEGE OF THE HOLY CITY BY TITUS.

*Together with some Brief Notices of the Jews since their
Dispersion to the Present Period.*

BY THE AUTHOR OF

“LILY DOUGLAS,” “PIERRE AND HIS FAMILY,” &c.

“Even the rapt stranger shall admire and ask,
Where that proud City stood, which was Jerusalem?”

SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE.

TO those who have been accustomed to conduct the exercises of a Sabbath School, and therein to trace, and retrace, the wanderings of the children of Israel,—from the call of Abraham to the descent into Egypt,—from the Exodus to the entrance into Canaan,—thence through the eras of Judges and Kings to the captivity,—and onward to the building of the second temple,—and again through the acts of the apostles,—it has no doubt often been a matter of regret, that the sphere of duty, in such a place, precluded them from following the history farther, and pointing out to their children not only the apostasy of the Jews, but the final destruction of their city and temple.

While this desire has been strongly felt on the part of the Teacher, it has often been as vividly met by evidences of expanding intellect, and quick perception on the part of the Scholar. And the delight with which young minds have been observed to enter into the details of the domestic history of the patriarchs and their deces-

dants, as well as into the collateral circumstances connecting them with the surrounding nations; has discovered a susceptibility to the pleasures derived from historic truth, as well as a degree of intelligence—regarding events, differing so materially from those with which they are conversant in their humble sphere of life,—no less gratifying than astonishing.

The difficulty however of imparting distinct views of the history of any nation, to young people possessed of no other advantages than ability to read the Scriptures, is no doubt very considerable; and as it does not appear very clearly to be a point of duty to attempt it, the task is perhaps unnecessary: And it becomes the Teacher to curb the desire he feels to be more explicit.

The children are accustomed to hear the words Jerusalem—Egypt—the wilderness—Canaan—but where this local Jerusalem existed, is perhaps as indistinctly defined upon their minds, as is the idea of that which cometh down from heaven.

They hear of the Jews—the Romans—Tiberias Cæsar—Felix and Festus—Greeks and barbarians;—but except the Israelites, with whose history they are made familiar by tracing them through all their descent from the birth of Isaac, they know nothing of the state of the neighbouring

nations. And their ignorance of geography, as well as of secular history and chronology, almost unfits them from ever forming any thing like a perspicuous perception of a great part of the historic subjects of holy writ.

But happily such knowledge is not necessary to salvation: And all that is requisite for them to know of the path that leads to heaven, is so plain, that "the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein."

This little volume therefore is not designed to obviate any of the above difficulties: but it is intended to meet the eager inquiries of young minds after truth, in exhibiting to them the accomplishment of the prophetic passages of the New Testament, in the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the Old in the dispersion of the Jews. And however painfully affecting the melancholy story, yet it is so fraught with warning and admonition to all, and so strongly corroborative of the truth of the divine testimony, that while we tremble at the awful details, we must also be led to give glory to God, for this additional evidence of the prescience and sympathy of our divine Redeemer, who wept over the devoted city, even at the moment when he denounced its ruin.

While from these circumstances the following

work may prove interesting even to uneducated readers, notwithstanding the obscurity which may involve their view of it,—to the young in the higher ranks of society, who come to its perusal with all the advantages of previous information, it is hoped it will be no unacceptable present. From their acquired knowledge of various other subjects, they will at once perceive the local situation of the scene of contest,—the power of the Romans,—the era in which the transaction took place; and while they witness the Jews in a state of political subordination to the Roman empire, they will observe that hitherto their religious privileges were preserved to them inviolate, though their civil ordinances were annulled many years before.

It may be necessary here to premise, that while the narrative of Josephus is taken up at that part of the Scriptures where St Luke concludes in the Acts of the Apostles, yet the object of the writer is to abridge the account of the siege of Jerusalem alone. The intermediate events are therefore merely alluded to in passing, and all that is necessary to lead the reader to the commencement of the terrific scene, is condensed within a few pages.

With regard to Josephus, the author of the

History of the Jewish Wars, he was a Jew of a noble family, connected by descent both with the sacerdotal and royal dignities, being at once of the blood-royal, and of the line of the priests. He was a general of the Jewish army at the commencement of the war, and had a command in Galilee ; and after sustaining, with admirable talent, the long protracted siege of Jotapata, he was taken captive by the Romans, and lived a prisoner, yet much esteemed in the camp of Vespasian, till that general was declared emperor by the legions in Judea, on which occasion Josephus received his freedom. He still, however, continued among the Romans, where he acted as interpreter between them and the Jews. Being an eye-witness of the war, he has left a most affecting and authentic history of the miseries of his own nation, as well as of their crimes ; and has given such a detail of massacre and rapine, famine and fire, as is unparalleled in all the annals of all other nations on the earth.

Many learned commentators on the Scriptures have remarked, regarding the writings of Josephus, that his history is so perfect a delineation of certain passages in the Bible, and particularly of those two verses in the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew,—“ For there shall be great tribula-

tion, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be. And except these days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved," &c.—that they are not only the exact counterparts of each other, but seem almost as if they had been written by the same person.* Yet Josephus was not born till after our Saviour's crucifixion; he was not a Christian, but a Jew, and certainly never meant to give any testimony to the truth of the Christian religion.†

With regard to the following Abridgement of his account of the siege of Jerusalem, the propriety of retaining, as much as possible, the style of the translator has been steadily kept in view; both because it was conceived that the Jewish historian would not appear so well in a more modern dress, and also because the very facts which he relates have in them something so venerable, that it seemed it would have been doing a kind of violence to their antiquity and sadness, to have presented them in a more garish style, or even—had the writer been capable—in a more elegant phraseology. For the same reason, the nomenclature of the days and months of the year in the European calendar has not been followed, nor even that of the Syro-Macedonian, though

* Newton.

† Bishop Porteus, quoted by Scott.

used by Josephus ; but the names of the Jewish months appended by Whiston are adopted as being more familiar to the reader of the Bible in the one case, and more sacred than the modern in the other. Or to be more explicit, the word Tamuz is used instead of July, Elul instead of August, &c. It appeared that it would have resembled the account of the atrocities of some European revolution, of the twelfth of August, to have used the latter ; while many a sacred association falls in with the feelings of the Jewish historian, when, describing the sacking of the holy city, he says, " while all was burning, came on the dawn of the eighth day of the month Elul on the ashes of Jerusalem."

As many passages in Josephus are rather obscure, and it is sometimes difficult to arrive at his precise meaning, in all such cases the exact words of the translator have been retained ; and where conjecture is necessary, it has been thought advisable rather to leave it to the mind of the reader, than to venture to use any freedom with the text.

For similar reasons, namely, to preserve as much as possible the identity of the historian in this abridgement, the writer has been very sparing of reflections on what is related ; and indeed the

feelings of a Jewish writer, and those of a Christian on this subject, must be so totally opposite as far as matters of faith are concerned, as to be nearly incapable of amalgamation. A few quotations from scripture are appended to the chapters, on which it will be found that the text of the historian contains the best annotation. In each, giving evidence of the truth of that appalling sentence,—appalling so far as it regards the impenitent,—“heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.”

In conclusion, it is only necessary to add, that, as in the perusal of this book, sentiments must necessarily be excited in the mind, such as no one in this day of the spreading of glad tidings would wish to entertain towards any nation, much less towards the Jews,—it has been attempted to follow it up by a selection of some historical facts connected with the fate of that exiled and persecuted people, since the loss of their beloved and devoted city, which, it is hoped, will lead every pious reader to pray, that the set time to favour Zion may speedily arrive—that, “in Judah, Jehovah-Jesus may be well known, and that his name may be great, as the GLORY of ISRAEL.”

Leith, February, 1826.

JERUSALEM DESTROYED.

INTRODUCTION.

"We have no King but Cæsar!"

THE memorable occasion on which these words,—"we have no king but Cæsar,"—were vociferated by the Jewish multitude, is well known to every Christian reader; and it is not my intention to allude, at present, to the sacred and awful circumstances with which this exclamation stands connected. But it may be well, before entering on the following history, to draw one or two proofs from Scripture, illustrative at once, of the power of the Roman authorities in Judea, in the times of the apostles; and of the

frantic and unbridled fury with which this tumultuary people, the Jews, seem ever to have acted, when any event excited public interest, or pressed with peculiar force on the feelings or prejudices of the nation.

For this purpose it might be sufficient to cite the case of Stephen, whom, untried and uncondemned, they proceeded against with the most infuriate rancour,—“they gnashed on him with their teeth,”—and hastily put him to death, even at a time when, by their own acknowledgment, no such judicial power belonged to them. Or we might point to the case of Paul, when he went up to Jerusalem with alms for his nation; who being found in the temple by certain Jews of Asia, who had probably heard him preaching to the Gentiles in their own country, they “stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him; and all the city was moved, and the people ran together, and all Jerusalem was in an uproar, until Lysias, the chief captain,” or commanding officer of the Roman forces in Jerusalem, came down and rescued Paul, and carried him into the castle.

If it excite astonishment to observe a mixed multitude, in the precincts of the temple, thus transported with rage ; the dissensions in the Sanhedrim the next day, when Paul pleaded his own cause before them, will not diminish it ; for the strife and passion of the members of that sacred court arose to such a height, that Lysias, "fearing that Paul should be pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down and take him by force from among them, and bring him into the castle."

This total want of decency and decorum in the highest ecclesiastical court in the world, marks, more strongly than a thousand arguments could do, the peculiarly ferocious temperament of the Jews ; their unrestrained fury, and ungovernable passion ; and detaches all respect from an assembly, which we should otherwise have considered of the most august and dignified character. While the interference of Lysias, a Roman tribune, in interrupting those sacred proceedings, over which the high priest of the Jews was presiding in person, proves, unequivocally, that all civil authority had passed away from this people,

—that the sceptre had departed from Judah,—that Shiloh was come,—and that, in a temporal sense, they had indeed “no King but Caesar.”

The sacred historian continues to inform us, that “certain Jews banded together, and bound themselves by a curse, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul;” and that Lysias imagined Paul was a certain chief of banditti, who had led into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers.

These scattered notices of the state of society in Jerusalem, strongly corroborate the correctness of the statements of the historian whom we are about to introduce to the reader; and prepare the mind for the reception of the melancholy details of the disorganized condition of this distracted nation, which are contained in the following narrative.

It seems unnecessary here to allude any further to the circumstances which induced Lysias to send Paul to Felix, the Roman governor, who resided at Cesarea, and who kept the apostle two years a prisoner. And when we read that Felix “hoped that money should have been given him

of Paul to loose him," we see at once the corrupt and avaricious character of the Roman government; and that Felix, while he was ready to sell justice, if such an anomaly could exist, was yet, without any conviction of the guilt of Paul, but merely to ingratiate himself with the Jews, lest they should accuse him of rapacity and mal-administration to Cæsar, "willing to show them a pleasure," and so "left Paul bound."

Felix was succeeded in the government of Judea by Porcius Festus, before whose tribunal Paul was again accused of the Jews, and again found guiltless by the Romans; but having appealed to Cæsar, he was sent to Rome; and the sacred writers of the New Testament make no further mention of the political state of Judea, or of the administrators of its civil polity.

When Festus came into Judea, he found the whole country infested with banditti, who murdered the inhabitants, plundered the houses, and set fire to the villages. That such should be the demoralized state of the provinces need excite no surprise, when the citizens of Jerusalem, or perhaps some of the very members of the Sanhe-

drim, had bound themselves by an oath to attempt the assassination of Paul. These robbers were called Sicarii, on account of certain small swords called Siccæ, which they carried concealed under their garments. They slew men in open day, in the midst of the city, but chiefly at the festivals, where they mingled among the multitude, and stabbing their enemies, they immediately affected to join the outcry against the murderers, and thus escaped detection.

Festus sent out patrols of soldiers to destroy these men, and to deliver the country from their tyranny: But Festus was soon succeeded by Albinus, as Procurator of Judea, who was very remiss in his endeavours to correct these abuses; on the contrary, there was hardly any wickedness of which he was not himself guilty. His rapacity and extortion were so great, that he not only, in his political or official capacity, robbed and plundered the people, and burdened them with the most vexatious and oppressive taxes, but he sold the very contents of the prison house; and every robber and malefactor who had been incarcerated for their crimes by former governors, he

permitted to be redeemed by their friends or accomplices for money ; so that the prisons ceased to contain any but such as were too poor to pay for their liberty. These disorderly persons being suffered to regain their freedom, only increased the evils and terrors of the people ; for every bandit was encompassed by his own troop, and those who were robbed were obliged to be silent, while others who escaped being plundered, were constrained to flatter the guilty, lest in their turn they should be exposed to depredations.

But while such was the administration and character of Albinus, Gessius Florus, who succeeded him, was still more flagitious. Indeed, wicked as Albinus was, yet in comparison of Florus, he was a most excellent governor. For this latter omitted no kind of rapine or plunder ; his turpitude and effrontery were unparalleled even by all who had gone before him. He scorned to pilfer individuals only ; such a booty was too contemptible for his avarice. He spoiled whole cities,—he rained entire bodies of men,—and almost proceeded so far as openly to guarantee the safety of assassins and robbers, provid-

ed he went shares with them in their spoils. His extortion and rapacity brought whole toparchies into a state of desolation ; and many of the people, oppressed beyond endurance by his insufferable cupidity, left the land of their fathers, and went into exile to foreign countries.

At this period, Cestius Gallus was President of the Roman possessions in Syria, and resided at Antioch ; but coming to Jerusalem during the season of the Passover, the Jews gathered around him in numbers, not less than three millions, beseeching him to have compassion on their nation, and to free them from the cruel exactions of Florus. But Florus, who was standing beside Cestius at the moment, laughed at their demands, and contriving to colour over his enormities and his crimes in the eyes of Cestius, the latter merely temporized with the Jews, and dismissed them with an assurance that their governor would treat them more gently in future.

Cestius returned to Antioch, and Florus continued as tyrannical as before ; and it was at this period that the occasion of the war commenced. The Jews at Cesarea held a synagogue, which

was built on the property of a certain Greek. The Jews had frequently wished to purchase the place, but the Greek would not dispose of it; and he continued to raise other buildings around them, such as shops, with the view of affronting the Jews, and left them so narrow an entrance to their synagogue, that it was difficult of approach. The Jews bribed Florus with the sum of eight talents to prevent the work; and he being intent only on getting money, took the bribe, promising to protect them, but went away from Cesarea, and suffered the business to go on.

On the next Sabbath-day when the Jews were crowding to their place of worship, a man of Cesarea took an earthen vessel, and placing it at the entrance of the synagogue, sacrificed upon it some birds—thereby affronting the Jews through the medium of their religion, and also polluting their sanctuary. The Jews and the populace of Cesarea came to blows upon this occasion; and the former, taking away their sacred books, retired to Nabotat, and afterwards complained to Florus: But this oppressive governor instead of supporting their cause, seized upon certain of the

Jews, and put them in prison for carrying the books of the law out of Cesarea.

Though the inhabitants of Jerusalem were as deeply offended by this event as the rest of their brethren, they yet restrained their passion, and passed it over in silence, till Florus, rising in wickedness, and ingenious in insult and rapaciousness, sent to the temple and took seventeen talents out of the sacred treasury, under pretence that they were demanded by Cæsar. Upon this the inhabitants of Jerusalem became exasperated, and ran in crowds to the temple, calling upon Cæsar by name to free them from Florus. They seem also to have treated Florus with ridicule and pasquinades, carrying about a basket through the streets of the city, and begging pieces of money for him as for one who was destitute. Upon this insult, Florus marched to Jerusalem, instead of quelling the disturbances at Cesarea, and did all in his power to provoke the Jews to revolt, that he might screen himself from the wrath of Cæsar. The confusion in Jerusalem at the arrival of Florus was tremendous, and his cruelties so excessive, that in one day upwards of three thousand of the populace were slain.

Agrippa, who was at this time in Jerusalem, attempted to allay the ferment of the people, and induce them to obey Florus till Cæsar should appoint another to succeed him,—but this conduct of the king procured him nothing but insult and contumely ; so, perceiving that his advice was disagreeable to them, and that they had not paid the tribute to Cæsar, he sent the rulers and chief men to Florus, who had returned to Cesarea, that he might appoint persons to collect the tribute, and Agrippa himself retired into his own kingdom.

The whole administration of Florus is marked by the same cruelty and oppression—the same reckless and merciless tyranny. While the conduct of the Jews is not unstained by treachery to the Romans, particularly in their slaughter of the Roman guards in the castle of Antonia, after having laid down their arms on terms of peace. This latter outrage brought up Cestius from Syria, with an immense army, who besieged Jerusalem ; and certainly had he continued the siege at that time, the Jews had sooner met the fate which hung over them ; but by one of those unaccountable circum-

stances, which, however mysterious to the mere worldly mind, marks so strongly the interposition of Divine Providence, Cestius raised the siege, and fled from Jerusalem, pursued and discomfited by the Jews; and having thus tarnished the glory of the Roman arms, prepared for the unhappy Jews, all the horrors which awaited them, during the war carried on by Vespasian.

On this occasion, however, through the mercy of God, the Christians in Jerusalem found the means of their preservation; for the great tribulation which was brought upon the nation by the conduct of Cestius, in besieging the city, led those who remembered the words of the Lord, "when ye shall see the abomination of desolation," (or the Roman ensigns, on which were the idolatrous images of the heathen,) "spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains. For there shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world, no, nor ever shall be." The Christians in Jerusalem, recalling this prediction, made their escape, upon the retreat of Cestius, out of the city, and

fled to Pella beyond Jordan, and to the mountains of Perea. Or to use the words of Josephus,—though he knew not the cause of their flight,—“After this calamity which had befallen Cæstius, many of the most eminent Jews swam away from the city as from a ship that was going to sink.”

On this state of affairs being reported to Nero, the Roman emperor, he appointed Vespasian, one of his most able and experienced generals, to go into Judea to take the command of the army there, to punish the refractory Jews, and restore the tarnished honour of the Roman legions.

Vespasian having sent his son Titus to Alexandria in Egypt to bring up two of the Roman legions which were in that country, proceeded himself into Syria. From Antioch he went to Ptolemais, a city in Palestine, where Titus joined him with his soldiers,

While Vespasian was in Judea, he besieged the different cities there, and in Galilee, and after various vicissitudes succeeded in making himself master of the whole country. During this part of the war, the Roman emperors who succeeded Nero, were deposed and slain, and

the army of Vespasian proclaimed him emperor. Upon this occasion Vespasian went to Rome, and the command of the army, as well as the whole conduct of the war, devolved on Titus, his son. It is at this period that I shall commence the regular abridgment of Josephus' history of the siege of Jerusalem; beginning first with a description of Judea; then of the Roman army; lastly, the details of the siege, and the destruction of the city and temple. And this account I shall preface with the following quotation from Tacitus, which will serve as a kind of proëm, or descriptive catalogue, of the persons who were the principal actors among the Jews, in this scene of terrific warfare:—

“ There were three captains,” says Tacitus, “ and as many armies among the Jews. Simon had the remotest and largest parts of the wall under him; John had the middle parts of the city under him; and Eleazar had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon were superior in multitude and strength of arms; Eleazar was superior by his situation; but battles, factions, and burnings were common to them all. After a

while John sent some, who, under pretence of offering sacrifice, might slay Eleazar and his body of troops, which they did, and get the temple under their power. So the city was now parted into two factions, until upon the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between those that were at home.

“Against this city and nation, Titus resolved to fight by ramparts and ditches, since the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by storm, or by surprise.”

Tacitus' Annals.

JERUSALEM DESTROYED.

CHAPTER I:

DESCRIPTION OF GALILEE, SAMARIA, AND JUDEA:

^a A land flowing with milk and honey.^b

^c I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore."

WHEN Moses, the prophet and lawgiver of the Israelites, described the country beyond Jordan to his people, he said, "The Lord bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of vallies and hills ; a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and figtrees, and pomegranates ; a land of oil-olive and honey." It is of this beautiful country, of

which Jerusalem was the capital, that I now proceed to give you some account, abridging the text of the Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus.

The upper and lower Galilee are encompassed by Phoenicia and Syria : They are bounded on the west by the territory of Ptolemais and Carmel, and on the south by Samaria, as far as the river Jordan ; on the east by Hippene, Gadara and Gaulonitis, and the kingdom of Agrippa ; on the north by Tyre and the country of the Tyrians.

The population of these two Galilees is very great. The people are inured to war from their infancy, and it has never been without men of courage. The soil is rich, and full of plantations of trees of all kinds. The cities lie crowded together ; and its innumerable villages are so full of people, on account of the richness of their soil and salubrity of the climate, that the very least of them contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

This observation of the historian, in regard to the populousness of the villages of the Jews, as well as the other occasions in which we shall remark the immense multitude of this people, re-

minds us of the truth and beauty of the promise, as made to Abraham on that night when the Lord "brought him forth abroad, and said, look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, so shall thy seed be." Gen. xv. 5.

Perea, is larger in extent than Galilee; and, though the greater part of it is desert, yet the soil being moist in other parts, it produces all kinds of fruits; and its plains are planted with all varieties of trees—but the olive, the vine, and the palm-tree are the chief objects of cultivation. It is also well watered with torrents from the mountains; and when these torrents fail, which they do in the heats of summer, yet the springs of water never run dry. The length of Perea is from Macherus to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan. These are on the North and west; the land of Moab is its southern limit, and on the east it reaches to Arabia.

Samaria lies between Judea and Galilee, and is entirely of the same nature with Judea; for both countries are made up of hills and vallies, are fit for agriculture, and very fruitful. They

are full of trees and fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is cultivated. They are naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain. The waters of their rivers are exceedingly sweet, and their pasture so excellent, that the cattle yield more milk than those in other places; and what is the greatest proof of excellence and abundance, they each of them are exceedingly populous.

The village of Anuath is the northern boundary of Judea. On the south it adjoins the confines of Arabia; its breadth extends from Jordan to Joppa. The city Jerusalem, is situated in the centre. Judea is not without such benefits as are derived from the sea, for its maritime border extends to Ptolémaïs. It was divided into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was supreme. As to the inferior cities they presided over their several toparchies, from Gophna to the kingdom of Agrippa; which latter country begins at Mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan, and reaches in breadth to the lake of Tiberitis; and in length from Arpha to Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians.

CHAP. II.

THE ROMAN ARMY.

"The Lord of Hosts, mustereth the host to the battle."

As has been hinted in the preface to this book, when Vespasian took the command of the war in Judea, he sent his son Titus into Egypt, to bring up some of the other legions.* Accordingly he came to Ptolemais, and there finding his father with the two legions, the fifth and tenth, which were the most eminent of all the Roman soldiers, he joined to them the fifteenth. Eighteen cohorts followed these legions; there came also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop of horse-

* Tacitus says, that Titus "was received in Judea by three legions, the fifth, and the tenth, and the fifteenth, who were Vespasian's old soldiers;" but we have followed the account of Josephus.

men and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. These ten cohorts had each a thousand footmen, but the other sixteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen each, with a hundred and twenty horsemen. There were besides these a number of auxiliaries which came from the three kings, Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, each contributing one thousand footmen, that were archers, and one thousand horsemen. Malchus also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen, and five thousand foot, the greatest part of whom were archers ; so that the whole army amounted to sixty thousand men, besides the servants, who as they followed in vast numbers, and had been trained up to war, ought not to be distinguished from the soldiers. For as they served both in peace and war, they were inferior to none either in skill or strength.

The military exercises of the Romans differed so little from the real use of arms, that their exercises might be called bloodless battles, and their battles deadly exercises. So that no disorder could move them from their usual regularity, nor any labour tire them : nor can their enemies easily

surprise them ; for, whenever they march into an enemy's country, they do not begin to fight till they have walled in their camp and levelled their ground.

Their camp is made four square by measure ; that which is within is set apart for tents, but the outward circumference resembles a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances, between which are placed the engines for throwing arrows, and darts, and slinging stones. They also erect four gates, one on every side, large enough for the entrance of beasts of burden, and for making excursions against the enemy. The camp is divided into streets, with the tents of the commanders in the middle ; and in the centre of all, is pitched the general's own tent, in the nature of a temple, so that it appears to be a city built on a sudden, with its market-place—its place for handicraft trades, and seats for the superior and inferior officers, where, if any differences arise, causes are heard and decided.

When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies, with quietness and decency. Each company have their wood and

their corn brought to them, and they sup and dine together. Their times also for sleep, and watching, and rising, are notified by the sound of trumpets ; nor is any thing done without similar signals. In the morning, the soldiers go to their centurions, and the centurions to their tribunes to salute them, with whom all the superior officers go to the general, who then gives them the watchword and other orders, to be carried to those under their command.

When they go out to war, a person stands at the general's right hand, and asks them three times if they are ready ? to which they reply with a loud and cheerful voice, ' We are ready.' And this they do almost before the question is asked, as if filled with a kind of martial fury, lifting up their right hand towards heaven.

With this superb army, Vespasian and Titus proceeded to besiege, and succeeded in taking all the cities in Galilee ; but not before it had cost the Romans incredible labour, and the Jews the loss of innumerable lives, besides six thousand youths sent at one time as slaves to the emperor Nero, at Rome.

CHAP. III.

STATE OF PARTIES IN JERUSALEM,

"Robbers, and zealots, and wild Edomites!

"Yea, these are they that sit in Moses' seat,

"Wield Joshua's sword, and fill the throne of David."

Mtanan.

Now, at the surrender of Gischala, which was among one of the last cities of Galilee that was taken, John, who commanded there, and who had escaped by a stratagem by which he had deceived Titus, fled and took refuge in Jerusalem. Upon his entry into that city, the whole body of the people were in a tumult, and thousands crowded about John and the fugitives who accompanied him, to enquire what had happened abroad. But the fugitives talked big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say that they had

not fled from the Romans, but came to Jerusalem in order to fight them there with less hazard.

John, who may be characterized as a man of great subtilty, who had no regard for truth, asserted that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. By these harangues he corrupted a number of the young men, and puffed them up for war; but among those in years, there was not a man who did not foresee the danger that was approaching, and lamented it as much as if the city were already ruined.

There was not only discord and sedition in the city, but the multitudes that came out of the country, flying for refuge from the other cities and villages to Jerusalem, were at variance among themselves. There was, in short, civil wars in every city; and those that were at peace with the Romans, were fighting among themselves. There were also bitter contests among the men who were fond of war, and those that were for peace. At first, these quarrels began among private families—then among friends, and even those that were dearest to each

other broke through all restraints, associated only with men holding their own opinions, and began to stand in opposition one to another ; so that seditions arose in every quarter, the young and inexperienced that were for war, by their youth and boldness, were too strong for those who, being aged and prudent, were more pacific. While all, and in every place, betook themselves to rapine ; and it seemed to be even a lighter thing to be ruined by the Romans, than to become a prey to each other.

The Roman garrisons that guarded the cities, did nothing for the relief of their miserable multitudes, till the captains of the various troops of robbers being satiated with plunder and rapine in the country, assembled together from every quarter, and becoming a band of wickedness, crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor ; and according to ancient custom, received into its bosom, without distinction, all who belonged to the nation, because it imagined that they came out of kindness, and to its assistance. Instead of which, they were one cause of the city's destruction ; not only proving a useless

and unprofitable multitude, but consuming beforehand the provisions which might have been sufficient for the men of war. Besides this, they proceeded to all kinds of barbarity, murdering the most eminent men of the city, and imprisoning and slaying even some of the royal lineage. They even went so far as to disannul the regular succession of the high priesthood, and to ordain certain unknown, ignorant, and ignoble persons to that office; and, having satiated themselves with unjust actions towards men, they transferred their contumelious behaviour toward God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

The multitude were now ready to rise against them, and were persuaded to do so by Ananus, the most ancient of the high priests, who was a prudent man, and would perhaps have saved the city, had he escaped the hands of the seditious. But they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, and cast lots which of it should be the high priest, and the lot fell upon Phannias, a mere rustic, who knew nothing; yet this man was brought from the country, and adorned with a counterfeit face or mask, and clothed with the sacred gar-

ments, and instructed how to conduct himself. This dreadful act of wickedness was sport to some, but occasioned the other priests the deepest grief, making them shed tears, and lament the dissolution of so sacred a dignity.

While these things were acting among the zealots, the name by which this sacrilegious party called themselves, Ananus bitterly reproached the people for permitting it, and urged them to rise against them to disperse them, and dispossess them of the temple. Upon which a dreadful contest took place, and both parties fought with fury, till the robbers were obliged to retire into the temple, which they polluted with their blood. But, as Ananus deemed it unlawful to take the multitude into the inner court of the temple, before they were purified, he chose out of the people, by lot, six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the cloisters; and there was a succession of such guards, one after another, and every one was forced to attend in his course.

Now the chief cause of these distractions was John of Gischala, who fled, as already related, from that city to Jerusalem: He was a man of

great cunning, with a strong passion for power ; and, while he affected to be of the opinion of Ananus and the people, he divulged their secrets to the zealots in the temple, and betrayed all the deliberations of the high priest and the citizens. But while they suspected his treachery, they found it impossible to get rid of him, so potent was he become by his wicked actions, and from the support which he met with from many eminent men in Jerusalem, whom it was necessary to consult on all affairs of importance.

But while John betrayed the secrets of one party, he was equally false to the other ; for he led them to believe that Ananus was about to send ambassadors to invite Vespasian into the city, which was false ; and thereby he prevailed on the zealots to seek for reinforcements to their party, and to admit the Idumeans within the walls.

The leaders of the zealots were Eleazar, the son of Simon, and Zacharias the son of Phalek, both of whom derived their families from the priests. When they heard from John, that Ananus and the people intended to call in the Ro-

mans, they wrote a letter to the Idumeans to this effect, that, "Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans—that they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty—that there was but a small time left when they might hope for deliverance; and that, unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans."

Now, the Idumeans were always a disorderly people, ever ready to put themselves in motion, and to make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast: Twenty thousand of them, therefore, were soon in battle array, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis, and came to Jerusalem under four commanders; John and Jacob, the sons of Sosas; Simon, the son of Cathlas; and Phineas, the son of Clusothus.

This secret embassy from the zealots to the Idumeans was unknown to Ananus, but he soon perceived the approach of their army, and ordered the gates to be shut, and the walls to be

guarded. After which, Jesus, the high priest next to Ananus, addressed them from the wall, and explained to them the state of parties within the city, advising them to withdraw, and to abstain from seeking to assist the band of tyrants and traitors in the temple.

The multitude of the Idumeans, however, paid no attention to what he said, but were provoked at being denied a ready entrance into the city. But Simon, the son of Cathias, after many efforts quieted the tumult of his own men, and standing near a part of the wall so as the high priests might hear him, spoke nearly as follows:—"I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the temple, since there are those that shut the gates of our common city to their own nation, and are prepared to admit the Romans; nay, are perhaps disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming, while they wall up that city from their own nation, which used to be open even to all foreigners that came to worship there. But here will we abide before the walls in our armour, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done."

As Simon concluded his speech, the Idumeans set up an acclamation, shewing they were of the same mind ; while Jesus, the high priest, went away sorrowful, perceiving that they were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides.

Many of the Idumeans angry at once at being excluded from the city, and finding none of the zealots there to support them, repented of taking arms against it, and were disposed to depart. But a false shame induced them to remain, and they lay all that night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment ; while there broke out a tremendous storm, which raged with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, and torrents of rain, with continued lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth, and all thought these wonders foreshewed some great calamities to the Jewish nation.

In this opinion the citizens and the Idumeans were agreed ; for the latter thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they would not escape punishment for making war upon their metropolis. And Ananus thought that he had

conquered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for the people. But they were both mistaken ; for the Idumeans fenced one another by uniting their bodies into one band, thereby keeping themselves warm ; and connecting their shields over their heads, defended themselves from the rain. The zealots, on their part, were deeply concerned for their auxiliaries, and were for forcing the guards and opening the gates for their admission ; but the more prudent party among them thought that step would be rash and impracticable, as Ananus would be everywhere visiting the guards every hour, which indeed was done on other nights, but was omitted that night, not by any negligence of Ananus, but by the appointment of divine Providence, that both he himself and the multitude of the guards might perish ; for, as the night was gone, and the storm truly terrible, Ananus permitted the guards in the cloisters to go to sleep, and the zealots making use of the saws in the temple, cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and the sound of the thunder conspiring with their design, they were not discovered.

By this means the Idumeans were admitted within the gates, and ascended through the city to the temple, from whence the zealots came out, and, mixing with the Idumeans, they attacked and slew the sleeping guards. But as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude of the people arose and betook themselves to their arms, imagining it was the zealots only whom they had to parry; but when they found the Idumeans in the city, they lost courage, and gave themselves up to lamentations. Some of the young men covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly defended the old; others gave a signal to those in the city of what had happened; but when they understood the Idumeans were come in, they only returned the terrible echo of wailing and lamentation. The cries of the women also mingled with the other shouts of war and woe, while the storm itself rendered all more terrible. The Idumeans, infuriated at once by passion and the tempest, spared none whom they approached; and slew all who ventured to supplicate them to remember the relation in which they stood to each other, and to have regard to

their common temple. But there was neither mercy to spare, nor space to fight, nor hope of preservation ; the outer temple was overflowed with blood, and the dawn of day saw in that sacred place, eight thousand, five hundred bodies lying dead.

Murder and plunder stalked hand in hand through the devoted city. The high priests were slain, and their bodies insulted, and even cast away without burial, though the Jews in general are so particular regarding the burial of their dead, that they even take down the bodies of malefactors, and inter them before the setting of the sun.

I should not mistake,—continues our interesting historian, whose graphic description of this terrific night is surpassed by no passage in the most celebrated classics of antiquity,—I should not mistake if I said that the death of Ananus, slain in the midst of Jerusalem, was the beginning of the destruction of the city ; and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall, and the ruin of her affairs.

Ananus, besides the grandeur of his nobility, and the dignity and honour which he possessed, was

a venerable and a just man,—a lover of equality even with regard to the meanest of the people,—a lover of liberty,—an admirer of democracy in government, and ever preferred the public welfare to his own advantage, and loved peace above all things. He was persuaded the Romans could not be conquered, and foresaw that, unless the Jews came to terms with them, they would certainly be destroyed. Jesus, the other high priest, though inferior to Ananus, was superior to the rest; and I cannot but think that it was because God had doomed this city to destruction, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders, and permitted men who had worn the sacred garments,—had presided over the sacred worship,—had been deemed venerable by all who dwelt on the habitable earth, to be cast out thus naked, and to become the food of dogs and vultures.—Virtue itself must have groaned at so fearful a lot awarded to such men, and lamented that she was here conquered by such wickedness. For such was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

After these venerable priests were slain, the zealots and their auxiliaries fell upon the people, as upon a herd of profane animals, and slew them. They first imprisoned the nobles and the youth of the city, then endeavoured to bring them over to their party; and, failing in corrupting them, they scourged and tortured their bodies till they died. Those whom they seized through the day, they slew in the night; and the terror that dwelt in the minds of survivors was so extreme, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for the dead, or secretly to bury them. Those who were shut up at home shed tears in secret, but durst not utter a sigh lest they should be heard. Only in the night they ventured to take up a little dust and throw it upon the bodies of the dead. Twelve thousand of the upper ranks of the inhabitants, or better sort of people perished in this sanguinary manner.

The zealots and Idumeans, weary of putting the people to death in this summary way, instituted a kind of mock tribunal, as if they would give a colour of justice to their proceedings; and placed seventy men as judges, to try a certain

man of the name of Zacharias, whom they accused of a design to betray their city to the Romans. But the seventy judges, chusing rather to die than to be unjust, brought in a verdict in favour of Zacharias, whereupon two of the boldest of the zealots slew him in the middle of the temple, and cast his dead body over the wall.

The Idumeans at last, touched with remorse, repented of the part they had acted ; and being persuaded that the imputation of treason was a calumny, and that the Romans were not at that time coming nearer the city, they withdrew, setting at liberty two thousand of the populace who were in prison ; who, on being liberated, went, and joined Simon, of whom we shall speak hereafter. But the zealots continued to thirst after the blood of the most valiant and most noble in the city ; the former they destroyed out of envy, and the latter out of fear. Thus they slew Gorion, a man of eminent dignity, and also Niger of Perea, who in dying uttered this imprecation, which, alas ! was too fatally confirmed,—that “ they might suffer both famine and pestilence in the war, and that they might end in the mutual slaughter of each other.”

The Roman commanders, hearing of the seditious state of the city, urged the general to attack it, but he replied, while their enemies were destroying each other, his business was to sit still as a spectator. Many of the Jews deserted to the Romans. The rich purchased their flight by money, but the poor who attempted to desert, were slain. The zealots became so barbarous, that they denied burial alike to the slain in the city, and the dead that lay along the roads. Cancelling at once the laws of nature and of their country, they insulted God also, and left the dead bodies to putrify under the sun. The same punishment awaited the deserter, and the man that buried his friend; and he that granted a grave to another, speedily stood in need of one for himself. In one word, no other gentle passion was so entirely lost among them as mercy; and terror was so universal, that he who was alive, called him happy who was dead,—and they that were under torture in prisons, called them the happiest, who lay unburied.

CHAP. IV.

"Manasseh" against "Ephraim; and Ephraim" against "Manasseh; and they together shall be against Judah."

Now John began to tyrannize over his party, and joining himself to the most wicked of them all, broke off from the rest of the faction. Some submitted to him out of fear, and others from good-will; and many thought they would be safer if their misconduct and cruelty were reduced to one head. John was a shrewd man, great both in action and in counsel, but very imperious, and evidently aiming at monarchy. Thus the sedition was divided into two parts, and John reigned in opposition to his adversaries,—and both fought against the people, and contended one with another who should bring home the largest prey.

But while the city had to contend with war, tyranny, and sedition, it appeared to many that war was the least evil of the three : thus many deserted to the Romans, and found that protection from their enemies, which they despaired of obtaining among their own people.

Now there was a man whose name was Simon, the son of Gioras, who, after ravaging the country, marched unexpectedly into Idumea, and took the city of Hebron. From thence he made a progress over all Idumea, ravaging the cities and villages ; and besides those that were completely armed who accompanied him, he had forty thousand men who followed him, insomuch that he had not sufficient provisions for such a multitude, —and as one may see all the woods despoiled of their leaves by locusts, so there was nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert.

These ravages of Simon excited the wrath of the zealots ; and, though they were afraid to fight him openly, they lay in ambush in the passes near Jerusalem, and seized his wife. Upon this occasion, Simon came to the wall of Jerusalem, infuriated like a lion when it is wounded, and vented

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his wrath on all whom he met. He seized on the poor who came out of the city gates to gather herbs or sticks, and who were unarmed and aged. These he tortured and destroyed. He mutilated numbers of the unhappy persons whom he captured, and, cutting off their hands, returned them to his enemies, in order to intimidate the populace, and lead them to desert from the men who had robbed him of one whom he seemed devotedly to have loved,—swearing, that unless she were restored to him, he would break down their walls, and entering into the city, would neither spare, nor pity, either age or sex. By these threatenings, both the people and the zealots were so much alarmed, that the wife was restored to her husband.

Simon, however, was very little pacified by this act of conciliation; for, though it led him a little farther from the wall, it was only to return to ravage the rest of Idumea. He compelled the people everywhere to flee before him, many of whom took refuge in Jerusalem. Thus Simon became even a greater terror to the unhappy people in the city than the Romans themselves,

While the zealots bore heavier on them than both. The people who attempted to escape from John the tyrant within the gates, were seized by Simon the tyrant without the gates ; so that the last resource of the wretched inhabitants till this period, which had consisted in desertion to the Romans, was now utterly cut off.

John, rising in excess of tyranny as he rose in power, became so furious in his despotism as to be ready to set fire to the city. This led the people and the high priests to assemble together, to take counsel how they should be able to resist his assaults ; and God, who overruled their deliberations for the accomplishment of his own purposes, permitted them, in their desire to relieve themselves from the cruelty of one oppressor, to submit to another, and to invite Simon to come into the city for their defence. Simon, upon receiving their invitation, arrogantly granted to them his lordly protection, and entered Jerusalem ; but took care first to secure his own authority, and then looked upon those who had invited him, as no less his enemies, than the zealots he had been called to oppose. Thus Simon got

possession of Jerusalem in the third year of the war, in the month Nisan, and John and his multitude of zealots beheld his entry with despair. It was indeed the signal for battle; for Simon, aided by the people, made an immediate assault upon the temple. But though superior in numbers to John, yet the elevated position of the zealots, who defended themselves from the walls and battlements, and cloisters surrounding the holy house, prevented him gaining any great advantage over them: and as many of his men were slain, and many wounded, and the rest wearied of the work, he proceeded but faintly, though unremittingly in the warfare.

It being foreign to the purpose of this narrative,—which is designed solely to detail the siege of Jerusalem,—to enter into the contemporary state of affairs in the rest of the Roman empire; it may be sufficient to observe here, that Nero the Roman emperor being dead, as well as Galba and Otho who succeeded him, and Vitellius their successor being esteemed a person too vicious and imbecile for so distinguished an office, the Roman legions in Judea, according to the manners of that

age, proclaimed their own general Vespasian emperor ; which nomination by the army in the ides of June, was afterwards confirmed by the legions in Alexandria on the kalends of July. On this occasion Vespasian presented Josephus, our historian, with his freedom, who had been taken prisoner, as we have already related, at the siege of Jotapata. But though set at liberty, he still continued attached to the service of Titus, and acted as interpreter between the Roman armies, and his brethren the Jews.

While the settlement of these affairs occupied the Romans, the sedition was revived within the city of Jerusalem, and divided into three factions, one faction fighting against another.

The attack which the zealots made against the people, and which our historian considered as the beginning of the city's destruction, has already been related ; but as to the new faction which had sprung up, it might be called a sedition begotten of sedition,—like to a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of prey abroad, begins to devour its own flesh.

Eleazar who had made the first separation of

the zealots from the populace, and had led them into the temple, became very angry at John's insolent attempts upon the people. Thus being jealous of John, and anxious to get the entire power into his own hands, he revolted from him, and took with him Judas the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezren, who were among the men of most influence and greatest power. There was also with him Hezekiah the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by numbers of the zealots, who seized upon the inner court of the temple, and laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that sacred court. And having plenty of provisions, they were of good courage, for there was ample abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses within the temple ; but as their party, though bold, was comparatively small, they did not move from the place.

In regard to John, though he had the advantage of Eleazar in point of the multitude of his followers, yet, in point of situation, he was placed at a great disadvantage : for he had his enemies over his head, and though he could not assault

them without terror and danger, and though in every engagement he was a sufferer, yet his wrath was too great to permit him to rest. Thus, they perpetually made sallies against each other, and the temple was defiled every where with blood.

Now the tyrant Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had brought into the city, in the hope that he would deliver them from their distresses, was placed in the same circumstances in regard to John and his party, as John was placed in regard to Eleazar and his party. For Simon having in his power both the upper city, and great part of the lower city, was underneath John, in the same manner as John was underneath Eleazar. And thus it happened that John both inflicted and received great injury, as he fought between two fires, and battled both with Simon and Eleazar. He had besides engines which threw stones, darts, and javelins, in great number, with which he not only defended himself, but slew many of the priests as they were engaged in their sacred ministrations. For, notwithstanding all the evident impiety of those wicked men, yet they still admitted such as were anxious to offer

sacrifices in the temple, though they carefully searched their own people before they permitted them to enter, but were less suspicious of strangers and foreigners. Nevertheless, many of those were destroyed by the seditious ; for the darts thrown from the engines, came with such force that they went over all the buildings, and reaching as far as the altar and temple, fell upon the priests, and those who were engaged in the sacred offices ; insomuch, that many who came from the ends of the earth to offer sacrifices in this celebrated place, fell down with their own offerings, and sprinkled that venerable altar with their own blood. Thus the dead bodies of strangers were mingled with those of their own people ; and the bodies of profane persons, with the bodies of the priests, and the blood of both stood in pools in the holy courts of the sanctuary.

“ And now, O wretched city ! ” exclaims Josephus, “ what misery so great as this didst thou experience from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thine intestine hatred ? For thou couldst be no longer a place fit for God, nor couldst thou long continue in being, after thou

hadst been a sepulchre for thine own people, and hadst made the holy house itself a burying-place in this civil war of thine ! Yet mayest thou again grow better, if perchance thou shalt hereafter appease the anger of that God who is the author of thy destruction. But I must restrain myself from these passionate regrets, since this is not a proper place for domestic lamentation, but for historic truth : I therefore return to my history."

Eleazar and his party, who kept the sacred first-fruits, came against John and his party. Those who were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon, who had his supply of provisions from the city. When John was assaulted on both sides, he threw his darts upon the citizens from the cloisters ; while he opposed those who attacked him from the temple, by his engines of war. When freed from those who were above him, he sallied out upon Simon, and set fire to the magazines in the city which were full of corn, and all kinds of provision. The same thing was done by Simon, when, upon John retreating, he also attacked the

city ; as if they had purposely done it to serve the Romans ; for by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, they thus cut off the very nerves of their own power. Accordingly, all the places about the temple were burnt down, and became an intermediate desert, and a fit theatre for war ; and as much corn was consumed by fire, as would have sustained a siege of many years. Thus they made a league with famine itself, without which they could not have been destroyed.

While the city was engaged in war on every side, by means of these wicked men, the populace between them were like a great body torn in pieces. The aged men and the women were in such distress, that they wished for the Romans, and hoped that an external war would deliver them from their domestic miseries. The great mass of the citizens also were in equal fear, for they had no opportunity of taking counsel, or of changing their conduct ; neither had they any hope of coming to an agreement with their enemies, or of making their escape from the city. For however the seditious warred among them-

selves, on one point they were all agreed, namely, to slay every one who spoke of making peace with the Romans, or who were even suspected of an inclination to desert to the enemy. The noise of those that fought was incessant night and day ; while the lamentation of those who mourned, was louder than the other. Relations paid no regard to such of their kindred as were yet alive ; nor was any care taken of the burial of such as were dead because every one despaired for himself. They who were not among the seditious, expected soon to be destroyed ; while the seditious themselves trode upon the dead as they lay heaped one above another, and grew fiercer and fiercer as they felt them under their feet

John, in his impiety, seized upon the sacred materials which had been brought in by Agrippa for raising the holy house twenty cubits higher, and turned them into engines of war ; he also had them erected behind the inner court, over against the west end of the cloisters, to build towers for opposing his adversaries. But God himself demonstrated that his impiety would be

of no avail, by bringing the Romans upon him before he had reared one of his towers.

Vespasian being now emperor, and at Rome, the conduct of the war in Judea devolved upon Titus, his son. Titus having got his forces around him, marched out of Cesarea, and ordered the rest of his army to meet him at Jerusalem. He had with him those three legions, of which we have already spoken, and with which Vespasian had laid waste the beautiful cities and country of Judea; he had also with him the twelfth legion, which had been discomfitted formerly at Jerusalem, under the command of Cestius, and which was now fired with vengeance at the remembrance of that defeat. Of these legions, Titus ordered the fifth to meet him by going through Emmaus; and the tenth he directed to go up by Jericho. He marched on with the rest himself, namely, the auxiliaries furnished by the kings, now augmented in numbers; together with others which came from Syria. There were also two thousand men chosen out of the armies at Alexandria, to supply the place of others who had

gone with Mucianus to Italy, when Vespasian was made emperor. These were followed by three thousand more, drawn from the army that guarded the Euphrates. Tiberius Alexander, the friend and counsellor of Titus, accompanied him, and acted as general of the army under Cæsar. He was a man valuable to Titus, both on account of his age and prudence, as well as his skill in the affairs of war.

CHAP. V.

" And when ye shall see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, then know that the desolation therefore is nigh."

The order in which this formidable army approached Jerusalem was as follows :—The auxiliary troops led the van, accompanied by the men who were to prepare the roads and measure the encampments. Then followed the baggage of the commanders, with the soldiers all completely armed, who were destined to protect it. Next Titus, with his select guard ; then the pikemen ; and after these the cavalry belonging to that legion. All these preceded the engines which were followed by the tribunes, and the leaders of the cohorts, with their select bodies of men. After these were carried the ensigns with the eagle,

preceded by the trumpeters belonging to the standards ; next came the main body of the army in their ranks, every rank six deep. The servants belonging to each of the legions with their baggage followed close upon the main body. The mercenaries came last, and those that guarded them brought up the rear.

Now Titus, according to the Roman custom, went in the front of the army, and marched through Samaria to Gophna, a city that had been taken by Vespasian Cæsar, and which was garrisoned by Roman soldiers. After lodging there one night, he marched next day to a valley called the Valley of Thorns, where he pitched his camp near a village called Gabaoth-Saul, which signifies the Hill of Saul, being distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs, or four English miles. Here he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to view the city,—to observe its strength and the courage of the Jews, and to discover whether, when they saw him, they would stand a battle or submit ; for, hearing of their intestine seditions, he believed many wished for peace, but that, being afraid, or too weak to rise up

against the rest they were constrained to lie quiet.

While Titus kept the straight path that led towards the wall of the city, no one appeared to come out of the gates. But when he declined towards the tower Pæphinus, and led his horsemen obliquely, an immense number of the Jews leapt out suddenly at the towers, called the Women's towers, and intercepted his cavalry. They intercepted Titus also, and a few others, which made it impossible for him to proceed,—for the ground was all dug with trenches to preserve the gardens round about, and was full of gardens and hedges,—and to return to his own men from whom he had been separated was equally impossible, on account of the multitude of enemies that lay between them,—while his own men were ignorant of his danger, thinking that Cæsar was still among them.*

Titus perceiving that his safety must depend upon his courage, wheeled round, and cried out

* Josephus here and elsewhere, often styles Titus, Cæsar and king, though he was not so at this time, but only general of the army; the Romans never had a king after Tarquin, surnamed *Superbus*, or the Proud.

shout to those who were near him to follow him. He then ran with violence into the midst of his enemies, in order to force his way back to his own men. An innumerable multitude of darts were thrown at him ; but, though he had neither on his head-piece nor his breast-plate, none of them hurt him, but, as if all of them missed him on purpose, they only made a noise as they passed by him. He turned aside, and overthrew all who opposed him, and made his horse ride over those on the ground. The enemy made a shout at the boldness of Cæsar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. But, though some of his companions were surrounded and slain, Titus himself escaped and came safe to the camp. This partial success gave great courage to the Jews.

So soon as the legion which came round by Etimmaus had rejoined Cæsar, he removed from his camp, and came to a place named Scopus, from whence the city might be seen, together with a view of the great temple. This place, which was on the north quarter of the city, was a plain, very suitably named Scopas, which signifies prospect ; it was only seven furlongs distant

from Jerusalem. Here Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two of his legions, and ordered another camp for the fifth legion, three furlongs behind the first. While these were beginning their operations, the tenth legion, which came through Jericho, arrived at a place where a certain number of armed men had formerly lain to guard that pass into the city, which had been taken by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives, which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted by a deep valley interposed between them, which is named Cedron.

When the seditious in the city saw the Romans pitching three several camps against them, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and said one to another, "What do we here, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built to coop us in? While the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to us, shall we sit still within our own walls, and become idle spectators of their labours, with our armour laid by, as if they were doing some thing

that was to be for our advantage? We are, it seems, courageous only against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed, by our internal sedition!"

Thus they encouraged one another and arming immediately, ran out against the tenth legion, and with a tremendous shout, fell upon the Romans while they were unarmed and engaged in fortifying their camp. By this means many of them were slain, being taken unawares: while the Jews, encouraged by the success of the first party that had gone out came forth in still greater numbers; and the Romans, not being accustomed to fight in that disorderly manner, but only in their ranks, and at the word of command, gave way under this tumultuous assault. Indeed the entire legion would have been in danger, had not Titus been informed of the attack, and sent succours immediately to their aid. He reproached his soldiers with cowardice, for flying before the Jews; and falling upon the flank of the enemy himself, he drove them into the valley, where they continued to fight till noon, when Titus set a part of his men to prevent the Jews making

any more sallies, and desired the rest of the legions to go to the upper part of the mountain to fortify their camp.

The march of the Romans toward their camp was construed by the Jews into a flight ; and as the watchman who was placed upon the wall gave a signal by shaking his garment, there issued forth a fresh multitude of Jews with such a mighty violence, that it was like the rushing of wild beasts. And their attack was so furious, that, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they broke the enemy's ranks in pieces, and obliged them to fly to the mountains ; Titus and a few others being left alone on the acclivity. These, ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorted him to give way to the Jews, who, said they, are so fond of dying. They besought him to consider his fortune, and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to turn back upon the enemy, for that he was general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, and on his preservation the public affairs all depended.

These entreaties Titus did not so much as listen to, but opposed himself to the enemy, beat-

ing them back, and slaying them. He also fell on great numbers as they marched down the hill; while they, amazed at his courage and his strength, gave way on both sides, and pressed after the soldiers that fled up the hill. Yet he still combated their flank, till he put a stop to their fury.

Meanwhile disorder and terror seized upon the Romans, who were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, on seeing those beneath them running away, imagining that Titus himself was slain. In their panic they dispersed, some one way, some another, till at last they perceived Cæsar in the midst of the conflict, which they made known to the whole legion; and returning to the battle they drove the Jews before them into the valley. Titus also pressed upon the Jews that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp, while he, and those who were before him, kept the Jews from doing farther mischief; so that, to speak the plain truth without flattery, says Josephus, Cæsar did twice that day deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them an opportunity to continue their operations.

The war having ceased awhile on the outside of the gates, revived within the city of Jerusalem. It being now the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, when the Jews hold the feast of unleavened bread, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of the inner court of the temple, to admit such of the people as were desirous to worship God.* But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs; and arming his own party with weapons concealed under their garments, sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it.

These men were no sooner admitted, than they threw away their garments, and appeared in their armour; whereupon there was a great disturbance about the holy house. For the people who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that the

* We here find the reason of the vast multitude of Jews that were in Jerusalem during this siege by Titus; for it began at the feast of the Passover, when such prodigious numbers of Jews and proselytes of the gate were come from all parts of Judea, and other countries, in order to celebrate that great festival. Thus 1,100,000 perished at the siege, besides 97,000 captives.

assault was made solely against them; while Eleazar's zealots, on their part, thought it was only against them. The zealots, deserting the gates which they had been guarding, leapt down from the battlements, and fled away into the subterranean caverns; while the people that stood trembling at the holy altar, and around the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled under foot and beaten without mercy. When the guiltless had been treated with the greatest cruelty, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let those go off who came out of the caverns; while John seized upon the inner temple, and all the warlike engines that were in it, and then opposed himself to Simon,—and thus that sedition which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

Titus intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than the site of Scopus, gave orders for the whole army,—except such as acted as a guard against the Jews,—to level the distance as far as the walls of the city. So they threw down all the walls, gardens, hedges, and fruit trees, and

filled up all the chasms and hollow places, and broke the rocky precipices in pieces with their iron instruments, and levelled the whole way from Scopus to Herod's monument, which adjoined to the Serpent's Pool.

When the space between the Romans and the wall had been levelled,—which was done in four days,—Titus brought the baggage of the army, with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp, guarding himself in such a way as to prevent the Jews from sallying out of the gates,—for he set the strongest part of his army over against the wall which lay on the north and west quarters of the city, and made his army seven deep, with the footmen placed before them, and the horsemen behind; each of the last in three ranks, while the archers stood in the midst, in seven ranks. Now, as the Jews were prohibited by so great a body of men from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that bore the burdens and the rest of the multitude marched on without fear. But as for Titus himself he was only about two furlongs from the wall;

but the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus and was distant, in like manner, about two furlongs from the city. The tenth legion continued to occupy its own encampment upon the Mount of Olives.

CHAP. VI.

"Walk about Zion and go round,

"The high towers thereof tell ;

"Consider ye her palaces,

"And mark her bulwarks well."

The city of Jerusalem, which was built upon two hills, was fortified with three walls, wherever it was not encircled with impassable valleys,—in such parts it had but one wall.

The upper city was built on the highest of these two hills, and was called the Citadel, by king David. The other hill, which was called Acra, sustained the lower city, and is of the shape of the moon when she is horned, or a crescent. Over against this there was a third hill, which was originally lower than Acra, and divided from it by a valley. But Acra, was lowered and the valley filled up. These hills are, on

the outside, surrounded by deep valleys, and being very precipitous, are every where impassable.

Of these three walls, the old wall was most difficult to be taken, both on account of the valleys, and of the hill on which it was built overlooking them. This wall began on the north, at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xistus ; then joining to the counsel-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But reaching westward, it began at the said cloister of the temple, went thence to a place called Bethesda, towards the gate of Essenes ; after which it went southward, bending at the foot of Siloam ; it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's Pool, and reaches as far as a place called Ophlas, where it is joined to the eastern cloister of the temple.

The second wall began at the gate called Genath ; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower called Antonia.

The third wall began at the tower called Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus ; thence

to the monument of Helena, extending to a great length, passing the sepulchral caverns of the kings, bending at the monument of the Fuller, and joining the old wall at the valley of Cedron. It was Agrippa, who made this wall to enclose the parts added to the old city ; which, as it became more populous, occasioned the hill called Bezetha to be inhabited also. This hill lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep ditch. This new built portion of the city is called Bezetha, which signifies the new city. As its inhabitants stood in need of protection, Agrippa, began this wall ; but he discontinued it after laying the foundations out of fear of Claudius Cæsar, least he should suspect him of making innovations. Had this wall been finished in the manner in which it was begun, the city could not have been taken. After the death of Agrippa, the Jews erected it to the height of twenty cubits ; above which they built battlements and turrets, so that its entire altitude was twenty-five cubits. These towers were square and solid as the wall itself ; and in the beauty of the stones, and niceness of the joints, were not inferior to the holy

house. Above this solid altitude of the towers, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them there were upper rooms and cisterns to receive rain water. Of these towers the third wall had ninety ; in the middle wall were forty ; the old wall was parted into sixty ; and the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. The third wall was altogether wonderful, yet the tower Peephinus was elevated above it at the north-west corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent. This tower, being seventy cubits high, afforded at once a prospect of Arabia at the sun-rising, or towards the east ; and the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. It was of an octagon shape, and ever against it was the tower Hippicus, and near it king Herod erected two other towers in the old wall. These were for size, beauty, and strength, beyond all that were to be seen in the habitable earth ; for besides the usual magnificence of Herod, he built these to gratify his own private friendships, and dedicated them to the memory of the three objects dearest to his affection, namely, his friend, his brother, and his wife. Hippicus, so named

from his friend, was a square tower, in length and breadth twenty-five cubits, in height thirty. Over this solid building there was a reservoir, then an house of two storeys, then battlements, then turrets all round, so that its entire height was eighty cubits.

The second tower which he named after his brother Phasaëlus was even larger in breadth and length than Hippicus ; it was surrounded with a cloister, and covered with breast-works and bulwarks. Over the cloister was another tower, containing magnificent apartments, and baths, in short every thing fit for a royal residence. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets ; it resembled the Phares of Alexandria in appearance, but was much larger in compass : This was the place where Simon exercised his tyrannical authority.

The third tower was Mariamne, so called after the queen. It was not so large as the others, but it was more magnificent ; for the king thought it proper to adorn that which was named after his wife more elegantly than those which were named after men. They exceeded in strength, this

in beauty. The whole were built of white marble hewn out of the rock, and the marble was so exactly fitted, each separate mass to the other, that they appeared rather to grow naturally out of the rock on which they were built, than to have been joined by the hands of artificers.

While these towers were on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace adjoining, which exceeds all power of description. Neither expense nor skill were spared in its construction. It was adorned with towers at equal distances, containing apartments large enough to hold beds for a hundred guests a-piece. The roofs, both for the length of their beams, and splendour of their ornaments, were admirable. The number of the rooms was immense,—the variety of figures in them prodigious,—the furniture was superb,—and the greatest part of the vessels were of silver and gèk. The palace was surrounded with porticoes and pillars, open courts, groves of trees, long walks, canals and cisterns, with brazen statues conveying the water, with dove-courts containing flocks of tame pigeons. All these were consumed by fire, which was kindled not by the

Romans, but by the rebel Jews themselves ; for the fire began at the tower Antonia, spread to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne.

The Holy House, the most celebrated temple in the world, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was scarcely sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground was uneven and precipitous. But Solomon added one cloister, founded on a bank cast up for it, and the other parts of the house stood naked. In after ages the people added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as was sufficient for the entire temple.

When they had built walls on three sides of the temple, and had performed a work in which ages were spent, and immense treasures exhausted—though still replenished by tributes from the ends of the earth—they then encompassed the upper courts with cloisters, as also sometime afterwards the lower.

The superstructure was not unworthy of the foundation. The cloisters were all double, sup-

ported on lofty pillars—each pillar formed of one entire piece of marble. The marble was white, and the roofs were curiously adorned with cedar. The magnificence, polish, and harmony of the architecture of the cloisters were perfect.

The cloisters of the outer court were in breadth thirty cubits, while the entire compass of it, including the tower of Antonia, was six furlongs. Passing through the first of these cloisters into the second court of the temple, there was a partition made of stone of the most elegant construction, upon which stood pillars at equal distances, declaring the law of purity; some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, signifying “that no foreigner should go within that sanctuary;” for that second court of the temple was called the sanctuary, to which you ascended by fourteen steps from the first court.

This court was four square, and had a wall peculiar to itself. Beyond the first steps all was plain; from whence there were other steps that led to the gates; of which gates there were four on the north, and four on the south, and two on the east. And as there was a partition built for

the women on that side where they were to worship, there was a second gate for them. There was also, on the other sides, one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women. This place was allotted to the females of our own country, and of other countries, if they were of the same nation; the western part of this court had no gate. But the cloisters which were between the gates were supported by very noble pillars. These cloisters were single; and, excepting their magnitude, were not inferior to those of the lower court.

Nine of these gates were covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of the doors and the lintels; but there was one gate which was without the inner court of the holy house, composed of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those which were only covered with silver and gold. All these gates had two doors or leaves, with side-rooms and towers supported by pillars. The Corinthian gate, which opened on the east of the holy house itself, was larger than any of the others, and adorned in the most costly manner. These nine gates had all their silver

and gold poured upon them by Alexander, the father of Tiberias. Fifteen steps led from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate ; those that led thither from the other gates were five steps less.

As to the holy house itself, which was situated in the midst of the inner court, that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended by twelve steps. Its first gate was of immense height, but had no doors ; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, which cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold, and through it the first part of the house was seen ; which, as it was very large, so all the parts about the more inward gate appeared to shine ; but as the holy house was divided into two parts, the first part only was open to the view. The gate which was at this end of the house was all covered with gold, as was the whole wall about it ; it had also golden vines above it, from which hung clusters of grapes as tall as the height of a man. The inner house was divided from the outer by golden doors of great altitude and breadth ; but before these doors hung a veil,

or Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, of a most wonderful contexture. This mixture of colours was not without its mystical interpretation.*

The first part of the temple had three things in it which were very wonderful and famous in the earth; viz. the candlestick, the table of shew-bread, and the altar of incense. The innermost part of the temple was twenty cubits long, separated from the outward part by a veil. In this there was not any thing. It was inaccessible and inviolable, and was called the Holy of Holies.

The outward front of the temple possessed every thing that was capable of exciting the astonishment and admiration both of the mind and senses; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and at the first rising of the sun re-

* We forbear giving the explanation of Josephus on the subject of this mystical curtain, conceiving, that whatever opinions may have been entertained by the Jews of his day in regard to it, the Bible is the best interpreter of the meaning of this sacred veil. The same observation, perhaps, might have applied to his explication of the "gate without doors," but his idea was so beautiful that we have retained it.

lected back such a flood of splendour, that those who attempted to look at it, had to turn away their eyes as from the insupportable brightness of the sun itself. Viewed by strangers coming from a distance, the temple appeared like a mountain covered with snow, for those parts which were not gilded were exceedingly white.

Before the temple stood the altar; its figure was square, and it had corners like horns; you ascended to it by an imperceptible activity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such thing so much as touch it. There was also around it a low wall of partition, made of fine stones, and grateful to the sight, which encompassed the altar, and the holy house, and kept the people on the outside, at a distance from the priests. The priests who officiated went up to the altar clothed in fine linen. The high priest went up with them only on the seventh days, and new moons, or at any other of the festivals of the Jews. When he officiated he was clothed in an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment without seam, with fringe-work reaching to

the feet, with golden bells that hung upon the fringes, intermixed with pomegranates. The girdle which fastened the garment round his breast, was embroidered with five rows of various colours, of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen, and blue, with which colours the veils of the temple were likewise embroidered. The same kind of embroidery was on the ephod, but the quantity of gold on it was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast, with two golden buttons with small shields which buttoned the ephod to the garment : in these buttons were inclosed two very large and beautiful sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes engraved on them. On the other part there hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four the other ; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald ; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire ; an agate, an amethyst, and a ligure ; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite ; upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, about which there was a golden crown, having engraved on it

the sacred name, consisting of four letters. These garments the high priest wore only once a-year, when he went into the most sacred part of the temple—that is, the Holy of Holies. At other times he wore a plainer habit.

The tower of Antonia, which is yet to be mentioned, was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple, of that on the west, and that on the north; it was erected on a rock of great height, which was a precipice. It was the work of king Herod, wherein he demonstrated his accustomed magnificence. The rock on which it was built was covered over with smooth pieces of stone from its foundation, both for ornament, and to prevent any one ascending it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower, there was a wall. The parts within the wall had the largeness and form of a palace, being divided into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as courts and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps; insomuch, that having all the appurtenances of cities, it might seem as if composed of many cities, but

by its magnificence it appeared one palace. And while the entire structure resembled a tower, yet there were four other distinct towers at its four corners ; of which that on the south east corner was so high, that the whole temple might be viewed from it ; but on the corner where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages leading down to them both, through which the guards, —for in this tower their lay always a Roman legion,—went with their arms among the cloisters, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch over the people. For while the temple was a fortress which guarded the city, the tower of Antonia was a guard to the temple.

There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace. The hill of Bezetha, was divided from the tower of Antonia, as already mentioned ; and as the height of the hill on which it stood, rendered Antonia the highest of these three fortresses, so it adjoined to the new city, and was the only place which intercepted the view of the temple on the north.

On reading the above description of this superb,

**magnificent, and holy city, who does not sigh that
not one stone of it is left upon another !**

**" O! beauty of earth's cities ! throned queen
" Of the milk flowing vallies ! crowned with glory !
" The envy of the nations !—now no more
" A city—"**



CHAP VII.

" Advance the eagles, Caius Placidus,
" Even to the walls of this rebellious city !"

THE multitude of the seditious who bore arms in the city under Simon the son of Gioras, were ten thousand men, besides the Idumeans. These were under fifty commanders, over whom Simon was supreme. The Idumeans who did homage to him, were five thousand, under eight commanders, among whom those of most eminence were John and Jacob the sons of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas.

John of Gischala, who had seized the temple, had six thousand armed men, under twenty com-

murders; while the zealots, who had come over to his party, amounted to six thousand four hundred more, under the command of Eleazar, and Simon the son of Arinnæ.

Now while these factions fought one against the other, the people were their prey on both sides, and were plundered by both factions.

Simon the son of Gieras, held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam, and went down to the palace of Monobazus. He held also the fountain of Siloam, the lower city, which was situated on Acra, and all that reached to the palace of Queen Helena.*

John, on his side, possessed the temple, with the parts adjacent; also Ophla, and the valley of Cedron. And when the intermediate places were burnt between them, they left room sufficient to fight in; for this internal sedition did not cease their warfare, even when the Romans were encamped at their very walls. These men continued to fight with fury and madness, and did

* Monobazus was king of the Adiabeni, beyond the Euphrates. Queen Helena was his mother.

all that the besiegers themselves could have desired. For I venture to affirm, says Josephus, that it was the sedition that destroyed the city, and the Romans that destroyed the sedition, which was a more difficult achievement than to raze the walls; for we must ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans.

While this was the posture of affairs in Jerusalem, Titus, with some chosen horseimen, went round to reconnoitre the walls; and decided to make his assault upon the monument of John, the high priest, for there the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it; the wall having been neglected at that spot where the new city was but thinly inhabited. Here also was an easy passage to the third wall, by which he hoped to take the upper city, and, through the tower of Antonia, to seize on the temple itself.

While Titus was thus employed, his friend Nicanor was wounded with a dart, as he and Josephus approached near the wall to discourse about terms of peace. Caesar, irritated at their vehemence, gave his soldiers leave to set fire to

the suburbs, and ordered timber to be brought to raise banks against the city. While the Romans were engaged in raising their banks, the Jews made continued sallies to annoy them.

John, however, out of his fear of Simon, remained behind, even while his own men sallied out upon the enemy. Simon, on his part, brought forward his engines of war, both those which had been taken when Cestius fled from Jerusalem, and those which had belonged to the Roman garrison when it lay in the tower of Antonia. But their ignorance of the method of using these engines made them of little value. Some deserters, however, who understood their use, instructed them, and they cast stones and arrows at the Romans. The engines of the Romans, however, repelled those of the enemy; yet the Jews contrived by night and by day to disturb them while employed in raising their banks.

When the Romans had finished their works, they brought their engines to bear upon the walls of the city, upon which a tremendous noise echoed round from three different places, while a still greater noise arose from the terror of the citizens

within the walls. The different factions then cried out, that they were acting as if in concert with their common enemy, and said that if they could not enter into a lasting concord, they ought at least to unite, in their present circumstances, against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon, by proclamation, permitted those who came from the temple to go upon the wall; John also gave the same liberty to his men. So they formed themselves into one body, and having a great number of torches, they threw them at the engines, and shot darts perpetually upon the Roman soldiers who were battering the wall. Titus sent assistance constantly to those who were hardest beset; and, placing both horsemen and archers on each side the engines, beat off the Jews who brought the fire. Yet the wall yielded not to their repeated blows, except where the battering ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower; but the wall itself remained uninjured.

The Jews having intermitted their sallies for a while, the Romans thought they had retired out of fear. But when the Jews observed their enemies scattered about at their works, and in their

camps, they made a furious rally through an obscure gate at the tower Hippicus, and carrying fire in their hands, went boldly up to the Romans, to burn their works. So the fight about the machines became very hot, and the boldness of the Jews was too great for the good order of the Romans. The fire caught hold of the works, and both they and the engines would have been destroyed, had not the select soldiers from Alexandria behaved with such courage, that they outdid those in the fight who hitherto had held the highest reputation. At this juncture, Caesar brought up the boldest of his horsemen, and attacking the enemy, he himself slew twelve men who were in the forefront of the battle. It happened in this engagement that a certain Jew was taken alive, and Titus commanded him to be crucified before the wall, in the hope of intimidating the Jews, and of making them abate their obstinacy. After the Jews had retired, John the son of Soanes, who was commander of the Idumeans, while standing talking to a soldier before the wall, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately: his death occasioned the

greatest lamentation among the Jews, and great grief to the seditious,—for he was a man of great eminence among them, and held in high esteem by the rebels.

Titus having given orders to erect three towers of fifty cubits high, he placed men in them at every bank, to assail the Jews with lighter engines upon the walls. By these towers the Jews were exceedingly annoyed, for they could neither reach those that were over them, on account of their height, nor was it found practicable to take them, or to overturn them, they were so heavy, nor to set them on fire, being covered with plates of iron. Accordingly they retired out of the reach of the darts, and no longer attempted to prevent the beating of the rams, which, by incessantly plying, began gradually to prevail, till at last the wall gave way to Nico, a name by which the Jews called the greatest of the Roman engines, because it conquered all things. The Jews, weary of fighting and of keeping guards, being at variance among themselves, and having other two walls remaining, became slothful, and retired at night to lodge at a distance from the danger. The Romans

perceiving their negligence, mounted that part of the wall where Nice had made the breach ; and the Jews retiring to their second wall, the Romans opened the gates of the first, and received all the army within it. And thus they got possession of the first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Jyar. They demolished a great part of it, and also of the northern portion of the city.

And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called the Camp of the Assyrians, seizing upon all that lay before him as far as Cedron, but taking care to keep beyond the reach of the darts of the Jews.

Titus having thus got within the first wall, began his attacks upon the second. Whereupon the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended the wall ; while John and his faction did the same from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of king Alexander.

Simon's army undertook to defend the spot of ground which was near John's monument, and

fortified it as far as the gate where water was brought in to the tower Hippicus.

The Jews also made frequent sallies out of the gates, but being infinitely less skilful than the Romans at that kind of warfare, they were generally beaten back ; while, on the other hand, they were too hard for the Romans when they fought from the walls. Yet neither side grew weary, either of attacks from the wall, or sallies from the gates. Night itself could hardly separate them ; nay, they slept in their armour, that by the first break of day they might be ready for the fight. And sometimes they slept not at all,—the Roman legions, lest the Jews should make sallies on the camp ; and the Jews, lest the Romans should mount the wall.

The Jews were so ambitious to gratify their commanders, and so great was their veneration and regard for Simon, that those under him were ready, had such a sacrifice been required, to kill themselves at his command ; while the courage of the Romans arose from their custom of conquering,—from their never being used to defeat, —from their habits of war and warlike exercises,

and from the greatness of their fame, and the grandeur of their dominion. But, above all, because Titus was everywhere present with them, fighting near them himself, and an eye-witness of those who distinguished themselves, and ready to reward their valour, and every one was ambitious to be noticed by Cæsar. Thus Longinus,—one of the equestrian order, while the Jews were standing in a strong body in array before the wall, and both parties throwing their darts at each other,—leapt down into the midst of them, and as they dispersed, he slew two of their men of greatest courage, and thus signalized himself; and many were ambitious of the same honour. But Titus did not approve of inconsiderate rashness in war, saying, that alone was true courage which was joined with good conduct.

When Titus had brought his engines to bear upon the north part of the wall, a Jew, in one of the towers, affected to sue for mercy, on purpose to gain time and to deceive Titus. Cæsar, however, perceiving his aim, gave orders for the engine to work more strongly than before; and when the walls began to give

way, Castor, the Jew, and his companions, set the tower on fire and leapt into the flame, into a concealed vault that was under it ; which being unknown to the Romans, they admired the courage of those men who could thus precipitate themselves into the very fire.

Now Caesar took this wall also, on the fifth day after he had possessed himself of the first ; and entered it with a thousand armed men, the flower of his legions. If he had, as is common according to the laws of war, demolished the wall, or even greatly enlarged the breach when he entered it, he would have secured a safe retreat for his men in case of need ; but being desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city, he neither slew the people, nor destroyed their effects ; but directed his soldiers to fight only with the zealots and the seditious, and to spare the citizens alive. The zealots, however, construing the humanity of Titus into a symptom of weakness, threatened to put the people to death if they dared so much as to utter the word surrender ; and slaying those who talked of peace, they attacked the Romans

who had entered within the wall. Some they encountered in the narrow streets, and some they fought from their houses, while others, making a sally from their upper gates, assaulted the Romans who were beyond the wall, who leaping down from their towers, retired to their several camps.

The Romans, within the walls, being thus encompassed on every side, made a great noise; for the Jews increased perpetually, and they, being acquainted with the streets and lanes of the city, fought at a great advantage over the enemy; who, on account of the breach of the wall being so narrow, could not extricate themselves from their dangerous situation. It is probable they would have been all cut to pieces by the Jews, had not Titus sent the archers to stand at the upper end of these narrow lanes, and do execution upon the enemy; while he himself stood amid the thickest multitude, and with Domitius Sabinus continued to direct the darts against them, till he had covered the retreat of his men from the city.

When the Romans were thus driven out, after they had possessed the second wall, the Jews

were so elated with their success, that they imagined Titus would never approach the city again. For God had blinded their eyes on account of their transgressions, so that they neither considered the strength and numbers of the Roman forces, nor yet that a famine was creeping in upon the city, for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the citizens.

But poverty had seized upon many of the better part of the inhabitants, and many had already died for want of the necessaries of life. These the seditious saw perish without regret, considering a diminution of the people as a relief to themselves. With such feelings, they covered themselves with their armour, and made a wall of their own bodies, at the breach where the wall had been cast down; and thus valiantly defended themselves for three days against all the attacks of Titus, until the fourth day, when unable longer to support the vehemence of the Romans, they suffered Titus to re-possess the wall; who, demolishing it entirely, put a garrison into the towers on the south quarter of the city, and made preparations for assaulting the third wall.

CHAP. VIII.

"They shall stretch on the right hand, and be hungry; and they shall eat on the left hand, and they shall not be satisfied; they shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm."

TITUS being now desirous of bringing the Jews to terms of peace, abated the operations of war for a little, that the seditions might have time for consideration, being in hopes that the destruction of their second wall, and the approach of famine, would soften and subdue their obstinate resistance.

To second this design, and to intimidate the enemy, Titus set his army in battle array, not with the intention of fighting, but to distribute the subsistence money to the troops, which was due at this time. So, according to the custom

of the Romans, the soldiers opened the cases wherein they kept their arms, and marched out with their breast-plates, the horsemen leading their horses in their splendid trappings : and all the way shone with the gorgeousness and splendour of the troops. The walls and houses were covered with spectators who came out to view this superb army ; while consternation seized upon the Jews when they saw them all assembled in one place, and observed the fineness of their arms, and the order of their men, And surely if the crimes which the seditious had committed had not led them to despair of forgiveness, they would have trembled at that sight, and finished the strife ; but believing, as they did, that torments and death awaited them in every case, they thought it better to die in defence of the city, than to capitulate. Fate also, or rather divine Providence, had ordained that the innocent and the guilty were to perish together, and that the city and the seditious were to be consumed in one common destruction.

Four days were thus occupied by the Romans in distributing the pay to the legions. On the

fifth day, as no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks at the tower of Antonia, and at John's monument, with the intention of taking the upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia. Simon and his party annoyed the men who were employed in raising the banks at the monument; while John and his zealots assailed those who worked before the tower. And the Jews having by practice become skilful in the use of their own engines, of which they had three hundred for darts, and forty for stones, they delayed the work exceedingly, and rendered the operations of the Romans very tedious.

Titus, however, knowing that the city would be either saved or lost for himself, not only proceeded earnestly in the siege, but endeavoured, through means of Josephus, to persuade the Jews, to listen to terms of accommodation. So Josephus went upon the wall, and again exhorted his countrymen to spare themselves, their country, and their temple. To remember that the power of the Romans was invincible,—that they had long

been subject to them,—that it was folly now to attempt to throw off the yoke,—that it was no ignoble servitude, all nations being under their sway. He reminded them also of the famine that was augmenting every hour, and how impossible it was for them to conquer the natural appetites of hunger and thirst. That their past actions would be forgotten and forgiven, in proof of which Caesar now offered them his right hand for security.

While Josephus was thus addressing them, many of them jested on him from the wall, and many upbraided him, and many even threw darts at him. But finding that such admonitions as he had already used, proved altogether vain with his countrymen, he reminded them, out of their own books, of the past history of their nation; and, in a speech of much eloquence, besought them to submit to the Romans, who demanded no more from them than the payment of the accustomed tribute-money; which, when they should have obtained, they would neither destroy the city, nor touch the sanctuary, and would preserve the holy laws inviolate. “Cast away your arms,” continu-

ed Josephus, "have pity on your country—regard the beauty of that city you are going to betray : Who would be the first to set fire to that temple ? who could consent that these things should be no more ? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved ? But if you are insensible to such things, have pity on your children, your wives, your parents, who will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war. I know that my mother and my wife, and that my family, which are by no means ignoble, are exposed to the same danger, and you may think I plead for them, and for their sakes alone give you this advice : if so, slay them,—nay, take my own blood as a reward,—only spare Jerusalem !"

Josephus however spoke in vain ; the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they think it safe to alter their conduct. The people on their part saw no means of escape left for them, but to desert to the Romans, and this they did as they had opportunity ; Titus permitting a great many of them to go away into the country where they chose. When John and Simon, and their factions, perceived this, they then began

more carefully to watch those that went out, than they watched the coming in of the Romans; and if they suspected any one of the least shadow of deserting, they were immediately put to death.

As to the rich among the people, whether they intended to desert, or to remain in the city, was the same to them, for under pretence that they were known to entertain the former design, though they did not, they were murdered for the sake of their wealth. The fury of the seditious also increased with the pains of famine. For there being now no corn to be had publicly, the seditious entered into men's private houses in search of it; if they found any, they tormented the people for having it; and if they found none, they tormented them still more, for concealing it, as they supposed, beyond the power of discovery. The method by which they ascertained the probability of food being concealed in any house, was by examining the appearance of its inhabitants; if they were in good condition they supposed they had food to feed on; but if they appeared wasted with hunger, they pursued the search no farther. Many there were

who gave all they possessed for one measure of corn ; if they were among the richer ranks of the people, they gave it for wheat ; if of the poorer ranks, they purchased barley. Then they shut themselves up in the inmost recesses of their houses, and eat their portion ; some baking it into bread, others eating it even without grinding. A table was nowhere laid for the scanty morsel ; they snatched it hastily, half baked, out of the fire, and devoured it in a moment.*

In this state of misery the common feelings of humanity were forgotten, and all the decencies and ties of life abandoned ; so that children who were wont to love and reverence their parents and relatives, plucked the food even out of the mouth of their fathers ; and what was still more pitiful, mothers themselves did the same to their infants ; and while those most dear to them were thus perishing under their eyes, they took from them, without remorse or shame, the last drop, or the last morsel that could have sustained

* And he shall snatch on the right hand, and be hungry ; and he shall eat on the left hand, and he shall not be satisfied. *Isaiah ix. 20.*

them. And all this was not accomplished in secret, but openly, and under the sun ; for whenever a house was shut up, the seditious conceived it to be a sign that the inhabitants had procured some food, and breaking in on them, they tore it even out of their throats ; beating the aged,—tearing the women by the hair,—and taking up children who had fastened upon some article of food, they shook them down to the ground, as they hung on the morsel they were gnawing, and dashed them to death on the stones. They also invented means of torture too shocking to be named, to make the miserable people discover where they had hid a handful of barley-meal, or a loaf of bread : and this was done by the seditious when they themselves were not hungry ; but only with the view of procuring provisions for the following days. They also went in pursuit of those who had crept out of the city by night, in search of herbs or wild plants to feed upon ; and when, in returning, these wretched creatures thought they had escaped the enemy, the seditious seized upon their little treasure, snatched it from them, even while they entreated them, by

the tremendous name of God, to give them back some portion of what they had gathered for their own support ; but they refused to restore them a single blade, telling them to be thankful they were only spoiled, and not also slain.

Such were the afflictions of the poor, and these miseries they endured from their own guards on duty. The rich were plundered in their turn by Simon and John, the two tyrants ; and he who was utterly despoiled by Simon, was then sent to John ; and those who had already been nearly despoiled by John, were robbed of the rest by Simon ; so that they drank the blood of the populace between them, and agreed in nothing but in their common wickedness and barbarity. Suffice it to sum up the history of their iniquities, by saying, that no city ever experienced such miseries, nor did any age ever bring forth a generation so fruitful in wickedness from the creation of the world. These men brought the whole Hebrew nation into utter contempt, that they themselves might appear comparatively less impious. They were, indeed, says Josephus, the slaves, the scum, the spurious and abortive off-

spring of our nation. It was they, and they alone, who destroyed our city Jerusalem, and who forced the Romans to gain a melancholy reputation by taking it. Nay, as if their destruction came too slow, they seemed to draw down fire upon the temple with their own hands; and even when they saw that temple in flames, they neither mourned over it, nor shed tears for it,—while yet the Romans themselves strove to extinguish the fire, and lamented so dreadful a catastrophe.

The famine had now attained to such a height that men became bold from hunger, and ventured out of the city in search of food, even in defiance of the enemy. These were seized on by the Roman soldiers; and being too numerous either to be set at liberty or guarded by soldiers, they were first whipped, then tortured, and last of all crucified before the walls of the city. Titus permitted all this cruelty with the view of intimidating the rest, and in the hope that fear might make the Jews yield to his terms. Sometimes five hundred of these miserable creatures would be taken in a day, sometimes more; and the Roman

soldiers, out of the hatred which they bore to them, nailed those they caught to crosses, some in one way, and some in another, as a sort of jest, till the multitude was so great, that there was no room left to erect the crosses, nor crosses enough on which to hang the wretched victims.

This fearful spectacle, seen from the walls of Jerusalem, dreadful as it was, did not prevent the citizens from continuing to desert, esteeming death from their enemies to be a peaceful departure, when compared with the agonies of famine.

Titus commanded the hands of many who were taken to be cut off, and sent them back to Simon and John, that they might not be thought deserters,—exhorting these tyrants to “cease their obstinate resistance, and not force him to destroy so fine a city, and so wonderful a temple.” In answer to which message, the tyrants threw out reproaches on Cæsar, and also on Vespasian, saying, “that they contemned death, and did well in preferring it to slavery,—that they would, while they had breath, do all the evil they could to the Romans,—that, as for their city, since they themselves were to be destroyed, they had no concern

about it,—and that the world itself was a better temple for God than theirs. Yet that the temple would be preserved by Him who dwelt therein, that he was their help in the war,—that all the threatenings of the Romans were only to be laughed at, for the conclusion depended on God alone." These words were mixed with clamour and reproaches.

Meanwhile the banks erecting by the Romans had advanced a great way, notwithstanding the opposition of the Jews; and after labouring at them continually for seventeen days, they were finished by the twenty-ninth of the month Jyar. The fifth legion had raised a bank over the middle of that pool which was called Struthias. At twenty cubits distance from this, there was another cast up by the twelfth legion. The tenth legion had also raised one a great way off from these, on the north quarter of the city, at the pool called Amygdalon; while the fifteenth legion raised theirs about thirty cubits farther off, at the high priest's monument.

John, however, with wonderful art and skill, had constructed a mine under one of the Roman

banks, and filling it with pitch and bitumen, set it on fire, to the dismay of the Romans, who thus saw all their labour, at least at that point, quite destroyed, and that at the very moment when they thought they had attained their object.

Two days after this, Simon attempted to destroy the other banks; for the Romans had brought their engines there, and had begun to make the wall shake. At this crisis, Tephtheus, and Megastarus, and Chagiras, certain champions among the Jews, seized some lighted torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. And this they did with all that fearlessness for which they were famous during the war, going out upon the Romans not as enemies, but as if they had been friends, and rushing violently through the midst of them, set fire to the machines. The Romans assailed them with their swords on every side, yet would they not withdraw till they had accomplished their purpose.

Then the Romans endeavoured to get their engines out of the fire; but the Jews rushed forth, and caught hold of the battering rams through the flame itself, and while the iron upon them was red

hot ; the fire spreading meantime to the banks themselves, so that the Romans, despairing of saving their works, retired at last to their camp. The Jews, emboldened by their success, and aided by the innumerable multitude who came out to their assistance, proceeded as far as the fortifications of the camp, and fought the guards.

Now there stood in array before the camp a body of soldiers in armour, who succeeded each other in rotation ; and these, according to the Roman laws of war, were never to leave their post but on pain of death. Such men, therefore, preferred dying in the fight to being punished ; so they stood firm against the violent assaults of the Jews, who now fought hand to hand, and made the Romans give way. But Titus coming upon them, attacked them in flank with some chosen troops ; till the Jews, who had hitherto been attacked in front, wheeled round, and fought with Titus ; and the armies became so mingled together, and the dust and the noise so great, that at last they could not distinguish friend from foe.

The Jews however did not flinch ; not so much on account of their valour and prowess, as from

their despair of deliverance. Neither would the Romans yield, on account of their love of glory, and because Cæsar himself was in the midst of the danger. The wrath of the Romans was so great, that, had not the Jews retired into the city, the whole multitude would doubtless have been taken. But the destruction of the banks disconcerted the Romans so much, that they began to think it would be impossible to take the city, at least not with the usual engines of war ; and, before taking any new step, Cæsar called a council of his commanders.

CHAP. IX.

"The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword, and the glittering spear; and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcasses: and there is none end of their corpses: they stamble upon their corpses."

AFTER the circumstances related in the last chapter, Titus called the commanders of his army together to consider what steps ought now to be taken to discomfit the Jews. While some were for bringing the whole army against the city and storming the wall,—and while others were for acting with more caution, and leaving the enemy to be destroyed by the famine,—Titus himself was of opinion that a wall should be built all round completely to encompass Jerusalem, and thereby cut off all supplies that might be carried in by stealth, as well as completely prevent the

irruption of the Jews; adding, that if any one should think such a labour too mighty an undertaking, they should remember that it was on that very account fit for the Romans,—and, as for the difficulty of the task, none but the gods could without labour accomplish any thing that was great.

These arguments of Titus prevailed in the council of commanders, and the work was immediately commenced, not only by the legions, but also by the inferior divisions of the army, the whole being fired with a certain divine fury,—so that each soldier was ambitious to please his centurion,—each centurion his tribune,—and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior officers, while Cæsar himself observed and rewarded all, going round the works repeatedly every day, and surveying their operations.

This wall commenced at the camp of the Assyrians,—where Cæsar's own camp was pitched,—and went down towards Cenopolis; thence along the valley of Cedron to the Mount of Olives. It then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called

Peristereon, and the hill which lies next it, and is over the valley that reaches to Siloam ; whence it bent again towards the west, going down to the valley of the fountain ; whence it ascended at the monument of Ananus, and encircling the mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried as far as the village called the House of Erebinth ; after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there, on the east, was joined to Cæsar's own camp where it began. Thirteen places were erected without to keep garrisons in ; and the whole work, which would naturally have required many months to finish, was, with incredible labour, accomplished in three days. Titus himself went round the wall, at the first watch of the night, to observe how the guard was kept ; the second watch he allotted to Alexander ; the commanders of legions took the third. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch during the night, and who should go round the intermediate spaces between the garrisons.

All means of escape, and all means of relief

being now cut off from the Jews, the city exhibited such a spectacle as had never before been seen under the light of the sun.* The famine, in its resistless progress, devoured whole houses at once. The upper rooms were full of women and children, who were dying; the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged. The children and the young men wandered about the market-places, swelled with the famine, and fell down and expired wherever their misery seized them. As to burying the dead, it was impossible, on account of the innumerable multitude who stood in need of this last office of affection and humanity; and even those who attempted it, died themselves while interring their friends, and many went into their coffins before the fatal hour was come. No voice of lamentation or of mourning was heard even in the midst of all this wretched-

* Then was fulfilled those words of the Divine Redeemer, "The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee." *Luke* xix. 43, 44.

ness. The famine confounded and sealed up the expression, and even the feeling of all the passions common to human nature ; and those who were just expiring, looked with tearless eyes, and open mouths, upon those who were gone to their rest before them ! Silence more deep than death had seized upon the city. The seditious and the robbers were still more terrific than the famine ; for they broke open the houses, which were nothing else than the graves of the dead, plundering them of their last coverings,—trying the temper of their swords upon the corpses,—running those through who were yet alive upon the ground,—while they refused to dispatch others who craved death as a boon. All these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple.

The seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried at the cost of the public treasury, not being able to endure the stench of the bodies ; but when, from the number, this became impracticable, they were cast over the wall into the valley beneath. When Titus, in going his rounds, saw the valleys full of the dead, and the putrefaction running among them, he groaned,

and spreading forth his hands to heaven, called the gods to witness that this was no act of his. While the inhabitants of Jerusalem were thus the prey of want, the Romans had abundance of provisions, being supplied with corn and other necessaries out of Syria, and the adjacent provinces, even to satiety. When Titus found that even the extremities to which the Jews were now reduced would not compel the seditious to surrender, he could no longer forbear to finish the war; and, out of pure compassion to the wretched, he again set about raising new banks where-with to take the city; and though he had to bring timber even from a distance of ninety furlongs, the whole country being already laid naked near the city, he set his legions to raise four banks in the neighbourhood of the tower of Antonia. He then shewed the seditious that they were now in his power; but these men were incapable of repenting of their wickedness,—for no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor did any pain seem to affect their bodies,—while they could still tear the dead bodies of their own people like wolves, or dogs, and still crowd their prisons with the sick.

Notwithstanding all the misery that has already been detailed, the tyrant, Simon, continued to torment the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and because Matthias, one of the high priests, had been faithful to the people, and was held in esteem by them, Simon had him accused of favouring the Romans, and he and his three sons were put to death. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest named Ananias, a person of eminence, as also Aristeus, the scribe of the Sanhedrim, with fifteen men of note among the people, were slain. They also slew such as lamented the fate of others; and keeping the father of Josephus in prison, made a public proclamation that no citizen should speak to him.

When Judas, one of Simon's under officers, saw all these cruelties, he and some others of his band determined to go over to the Romans; but they were discovered before they could desert, and all put to death by Simon.

As Josephus was going round the wall, he was wounded in the head with a stone and fell down; upon which the Jews made a sally, and he would have been carried off into the city, had not Titus instantly sent men to his succour. His mother,

who was in prison, when she heard it reported that he was dead, made great lamentations privately to her maids who were about her. But this false report did not long afflict her, as Josephus soon recovered, and shewed himself again upon the wall, which greatly encouraged the people, and brought consternation upon the seditious.

Some of the Jews, who determined at all hazards to desert, leapt from the walls, and went in among the Romans ; others, pretending they were going out to fight, went forth with stones, and then fled to the Romans. But there they met a more instantaneous death from abundance, than they would have experienced from the famine, excepting such as were cautious enough to restrain their appetites, and took only a little food, by degrees, till they were accustomed to it ; for, being swelled with the famine like men in a dropsy, if they fed too suddenly, their bodies burst asunder and they died. But a more frightful death awaited them still ; for it being reported in the Roman camp that the Jews who escaped had swallowed much gold as a mean of bringing it away, the Syrians and Arabians, when

they met with the deserters, ripped them up, and searched for gold in their bodies. So that, in the course of one night, not less than two thousand of these miserable deserters were thus dissected,

When Titus heard of this infamous act of his soldiers, he was about to surround them with his cavalry and to put them all to death; and he would doubtless have accomplished his purpose, had not the multitude of those who were guilty, been greater than those who were slain. However, he called around him the commanders of the auxiliary troops, as well as the commanders of the Roman legions, for some of his own soldiers were also culpable, and threatened with death all who should again dare to perpetrate so infamous a deed. But the love of money was still stronger than the fear of punishment; and, notwithstanding the threat of Cæsar, many still watched their opportunity, and slaying the deserters, dissected their bodies, and drew the polluted gold from their bowels: while numbers who were thus slain from the bare hope of gain, happened to have nothing in them to recompense their execrable enemies. But it was God who condemned

the devoted nation ; and every course that was adopted for their preservation, ended only in their more speedy and tremendous destruction.*

Now when John could no longer plunder the people, he began to rob the temple, and with fearful sacrilege, melted the sacred vessels of the sanctuary—the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables, all which were of gold, and even the pouring vessels which Augustus had bestowed ; for the Roman emperors always honoured and adorned the temple. But this man, who was a Jew, seized upon the donations of foreigners, saying, that as he fought for the Divinity, he had a right to use divine things, and that they who war for the temple, should live of the temple. So he emptied the vessels of the sacred wine and oil, which were kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in anointing themselves and drinking, consumed an hin a-piece. And here, says Josephus, I must declare my firm belief, that if the Romans had any longer delayed

* “ I will slay the last of them with the sword ; he that fleeth of them shall not flee away ; and he that escapeth of them shall not be delivered.” *Amos ix. 1.*

coming against the city, it would have been swallowed up, or destroyed by fire from heaven, like Sodom and Gomorrha, for the atheistical generation it had brought forth were worse than those.

But why indeed do I relate these particular calamities? While Manneus at this very time came running to Titus and informed him, that there had been carried out of that one gate alone, of which he had the charge, not fewer than one hundred and fifteen thousand, eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, during the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Tamuz. This of itself was an immense multitude; yet this man was not set as a governor at that gate, yet he was appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying out the bodies, and so was obliged to number them, though the rest were buried by their relations—though all their burial was but to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this person, there came to Titus many other eminent citizens, who informed him of the entire number of the poor who were dead, and that no fewer

than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates, though the number of the rest could not be ascertained. They also told him, that when they were no longer able to carry away the poor that died, they heaped up their corpses in large houses, and shut them up. They likewise related, that a medimnus of wheat was sold for a talent, and that, after the city was walled round by the Romans, and the people could no longer get out to gather herbs, they searched the common sewers of the city, and dunghills of the cattle, to eat the dung they got there, and what they formerly could not so much as look on, they now devoured as food * The Romans, at the bare recital of such things, were deeply affected ; while the seditious, still remained impenitent and unsubdued, suffering the same distress to come upon themselves, for they were blinded by that fate which hung over the city.

Though it appeared scarcely possible that the misery of Jerusalem could sustain any increase,

* How must the horrors of the famine have been augmented by the peculiar feelings of the Jews, and their regard to ceremonial purity !

it nevertheless became more dreadful every day; for the seditious being unsubdued either by their own calamities, or the afflictions of the people, naturally became more hardened, and their despair of deliverance irritated them to deeds of greater fury.

The multitude of corpses which lay without the walls, and encircled the city with a pestilential atmosphere, also impeded the progress of the soldiers when they endeavoured to make a sally from the gates. But as their hands were already polluted with the blood of those whom they had murdered, they cared little to tread upon the bodies of their fellow-citizens as they went out to fight against the enemy.

The country surrounding their once magnificent city, was itself an object of most affecting contemplation; for the Romans, in constructing their different works, walls, and banks, had swept the once beautiful suburbs of every tree which had adorned them; and the country of Judea, which was once as the garden of the Lord, was become a desert; and if any one who had formerly known it, had come suddenly upon the spot, or even en-

tered the city itself, he would have said "where is Jerusalem?"

When Titus had at last constructed his banks a second time, which labour occupied his legions twenty-one days, they became a source of mutual anxiety, both to the besieged and the besiegers. For the one party felt that if they could not destroy these banks, they themselves must perish; while the Romans, exhausted by excessive toil, and by the scarcity of materials for raising any more banks, were persuaded that if the Jews succeeded in destroying these, all means of taking the city would be cut off. The calamities also in the city proved as great a source of discouragement to the Romans as any other thing, for as their miseries had not softened the seditious, they operated, as already hinted, to infuriate them still more; and despair of life, added to the wrath which burned within them, rendered their assaults tremendous and overwhelming. Thus the Romans had perpetually less and less hope of success; and their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy; their engines to the strength of their walls; and their closest encoun-

ters to the boldness of their attacks. For they found the courage of the Jews superior to all the multiplied miseries heaped upon them by sedition, war, and famine,—for they turned their very calamities into a cause of valour, and the more desperate their affairs became, the more invincible grew their arms. These considerations made the Romans double their guards on every side.

John and his party, before the battering rams were brought to bear against the wall, attempted to set fire to them; and sallied out of the city with their torches. But before they had got the length of the Roman banks, they came back under great discouragement; for, on this occasion, their conduct was not unanimous,—they went out in detached parties, at distinct intervals, and timidly; in short, not as usual with Jewish courage. While this langour had crept over the Jews, so different from their customary mode of attack, which was bold, fearless, and persevering, they found the Romans in battle array, guarding their banks at once with their bodies and their armour, and in such good courage that they would rather die than desert their ranks. For, besides

being weary of the siege, and hopeless of success should these works be destroyed, the soldiers were ashamed that subtilty should succeed against valour, that madness should be proof against armour, multitudes too strong for skill, and Jews too powerful for Romans. They had another advantage too, for the engines for sieges could also throw darts and stones; with these they fought against the Jews at a distance, and as the first that was slain was an impediment to him who followed, and as they who came near were pricked with the spears of the Romans, the Jews at last reproached each other with cowardice, and without accomplishing their purpose retired within their walls, from whence they assailed the enemy with fire, and darts, and every kind of weapon which their necessities led them to employ.

The Romans undaunted by all these missiles, continued to draw nearer and nearer, till they fixed their machines in a posture to batter the walls, and endeavoured to make an impression on the tower of Antonia, while the Jews fought from above.

The tower however remained immovable by

the engines; at last, partly with their bodies, partly with their iron crows, they undermined its foundations, and with infinite labour removed four of its stones. Night came on and put an end to the struggle on both sides. However the wall having been undermined, by that stratagem of John wherein he blew up the first banks of the enemy, the ground under the wall gave way in the night, and it fell down suddenly.

The minds of both parties were variously affected by this unexpected event; for the Jews rejoiced that, though the wall had fallen, the tower of Antonia was still safe. And while the Romans on their part rejoiced that the wall had given way, they were petrified with grief and astonishment, when they observed that John had built another wall within it. Yet, as the new wall appeared much weaker than the former, they hoped that it would be more easily overthrown; though how to commence the attack was most perplexing, as whoever should venture to do so, must inevitably be slain.

Titus considering the hazard, and knowing that men are actuated by hopes and promises, so

as sometimes to despise danger, and even death itself, drew together the most courageous part of his army, and addressed them in a speech of considerable length ; animating them with the prospect of final success if they could possess themselves of the tower ; and, according to the ideas of the Romans, reminding them of the immortality which awaited such as were slain in acts of martial glory : he concluded by saying, “ As for myself, I should blush for shame if I did not make him who first mounts the wall to be envied of all, for those rewards which I shall bestow upon him. If such an one escape with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now his equals ; although it be certain that the greatest of all rewards shall be his, who falls in the attempt.”*

The multitude on hearing this speech of Titus was frightened by the danger. But there was one Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, a Syrian by birth, of great fortitude and

* The heathen “judged that man happy who laid down his life in battle.”

Ammianus Marcellinus, Alani. lib. 31.

courage of soul; he was apparently weak in constitution, and diminutive in his appearance, but he possessed a certain heroic spirit, too great for the narrow compass in which it dwelt. This man was the first that rose up, and addressing Titus, said to him, "I readily surrender up myself to thee, O Cæsar! I first ascend the wall, and I heartily wish that my fortune may be equal to my courage and resolution. But if some ill fortune grudge me success in my undertaking, take notice, that my want of success will not be unexpected, but that I chuse death voluntarily for thy sake!" Thus saying, he spread out his shield over his head with his left hand, with his right he drew his sword, and marched up to the wall just about the sixth hour of the day. Eleven only followed him, resolved to imitate his bravery, he leading the way, animated as if with a divine fury. Those who guarded the wall, cast innumerable darts upon them from every side, and rolled great stones upon them, which overthrew some of the eleven. But Sabinus, though covered with showers of darts, proceeded in his dauntless attempt, gained the wall, and put the enemy to

flight ; for the Jews were confounded by his courage, and astonished at the heroism of his soul, and thought also that many more had followed him. But his success was only temporary ; for stumbling over a stone upon the wall, he fell down, and the noise he made, probably the rattling of his armour, made the Jews look round, who seeing he was alone, and no man with him, and that he had fallen down, turned back upon him in their fury ; and though Sabinus got up on his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at first not only defended himself, but wounded many of the Jews, yet being obliged to relax his right hand from the number of wounds he had received, he at length gave up the ghost, covered over with innumerable darts.

As to his partners in this attempt, three of them who mounted the wall were dashed in pieces by the Jews ; and the other eight being wounded, were pulled down by their fellow-soldiers, and carried back to the camp. These things were done on the third day of the month Tamuz.

Two days after this unsuccessful, yet heroic

attempt of Sabinus, twelve soldiers who kept watch on the forefront of the Roman banks, called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, two horsemen, and a trumpeter, and at the ninth hour of the night stole cautiously through the ruins to the tower of Antonia, and finding the Jewish guards asleep, they slew them, and getting possession of the wall, ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. The guards awakened by the sound of the trumpet, and imagining that a multitude of the Romans had got possession of the wall, fled away on every side. But as soon as Cæsar heard the notes of the trumpet, he ordered his men to arm, and was the first to ascend the wall, accompanied by some chosen followers. The Jews, in their flight towards the temple, fell into a snare of their own, which John had dug to undermine the banks of the enemy. But recovering themselves, they attacked the Romans with the greatest force and alacrity, feeling persuaded, that if they once got possession of the temple, they must consider every thing as already lost. The same cause which animated the one party to resist with fury, inspired the other with

equal impetuosity in their assault; and as the field of contest was too circumscribed to admit the use of either darts or spears, both parties drew the sword, and fought hand to hand: While Jews and Romans were so intermingled with each other, as to be indistinguishable, and fighting at random, the noise, narrowness of the place, and bitter enmity which prevailed, made the battle dreadful. Great slaughter was made on both sides; the combatants trode upon the bodies and armour of the slain: those that had the advantage exhorted each other to go on, while those that were beaten made great lamentation, for there was neither room for flight nor for pursuit, but only for disorderly evolutions and retreats. They in the front were obliged to slay or be slain. At length the accustomed zeal and insatiable assaults of the Jews, proved too powerful for the skill of the Romans; and the battle inclined so strongly in favour of the former, that after fighting from the ninth hour of the night, till the seventh hour of the day, the Romans withdrew for the present, taking possession of the tower of Antonia.

There was one Julian, a centurion, a man of

great reputation, renowned for his skill in war, for strength of body, and courage of soul, who, seeing the Romans retire, as he stood by Titus on the tower of Antonia, leapt out, and of himself put the Jews to flight, while they were already conquerors, and made them retire towards the inner court of the temple, flying away from him in crowds, imagining that such valour and strength, as he exhibited, belonged to no mere mortal. He, rushing through the midst of the Jews, slew whoever opposed him, dispersing all before him ; nor did any spectacle appear more wonderful to Cæsar, or more terrible to all who beheld it. However he was himself pursued by fate, for having on shoes full of thick and sharp nails, such as are worn by the Roman soldiers, he slipped upon the marble pavement of the temple, and falling down upon his back—the ringing of his armour, and the shout raised by the Romans in the tower—made those who were flying before him look back, and seeing him in that condition, the Jews came round him in crowds, endeavouring to wound him with their spears and darts. Many of these he received on his shield, parrying

their iron weapons, and attempting to rise, but was always again thrown down. The struggle was not soon over, for Julian being covered with his helmet, breast-plate, and armour, could not easily be mortally wounded; at last, drawing his neck close to his body, till all his limbs were shattered, and no one daring to come to his defence, he yielded to his fate. The Jews then caught up his dead body, and shut up the Romans again in the tower of Antonia.

That there might be an open passage for the entrance of the Roman soldiers, Titus gave orders to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, while he directed Josephus to come to him to address the Jews, and endeavour once more to induce them to surrender. Now, on this very day, which was the seventeenth day of the month Tamuz, the sacrifice to God, called the *daily sacrifice*, had ceased, there being none to offer it up.* On this account; the people were

* Thus, A. D. 70, the prophecy of Daniel was accomplished, Dan. ix. 27. For, from the time when Vespasian began the war in Judea, till this date, was three years and a half; or, *half a week*, according to the mystic measurement of prophetic chronology.

exceedingly distressed. Accordingly, Cæsar commanded Josephus to inform John and the other Jews, that if any of them were maliciously inclined to fight, they might come out, and bring as many with them as they pleased, without hazarding the destruction of the city or temple; and that they might still offer the sacrifice, which he understood was discontinued, by any of the Jews whom they pleased.

Josephus, therefore, came forward, and stood in a place where he might be heard, both by John and many more, and, speaking in the Hebrew language, delivered to them the sentiments of Cæsar, earnestly beseeching them "to spare the city, and to prevent the kindling of that fire which was ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer their customary sacrifices to God." At these words a great sadness and deep silence was observed among the people: but John himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, as well as imprecations, adding, "that he had no fears for the city, because it was God's own city." Upon hearing these words, Josephus upbraided him with his impiety, expressing his wonder how

he could hope for assistance from God, whose temple he had defiled, whose altars he had polluted, and whose accustomed sacrifices he had dared to withhold ; depriving him of that everlasting worship which even foreigners and enemies wished to be continued, and which they would by no means desire to be intermitted. He also warned John of the consequences of his obstinacy, and reminded him that it was not yet too late to repent, promising him forgiveness from the Romans ; putting him in mind that he himself was a Jew, and wished the good of his own nation in giving him this advice, and that he would never forget his own kindred, nor the laws of his forefathers. On this, a great clamour was raised among the Jews, reproaching Josephus ; upon which he finished his address by referring to the prophets, who have said, that this city shall be taken, when some one shall begin to slaughter their own countrymen. “ And are not both the city and the temple full of the dead bodies of your countrymen ? It is God, therefore, it is God himself who is preparing the fire that is to purge both the city and temple—the Romans are

the instruments in his hand of plucking up this city, which is full of your pollutions !”

Josephus spoke these words with tears and sobs of sorrow, insomuch that the Romans themselves were affected with wonder and grief, but John remained inexorable. Many of the Jews, however, were not unaffected by what he said, and endeavoured to get away to the Romans, of whom, were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of the high priests three, and four sons of Matthias ; many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans, together with the high priests.

Cæsar not only received these men kindly, but knowing that they would not willingly live according to the customs of other nations, sent them to Gophna, promising to restore to them their possessions when he should have finished the war. But as it was reported by John that these men were slain, Titus recalled them from Gophna, and made them go round the wall to shew that they were alive—upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These all came together upon the walls in front of the Jews, and besought them to

spare the city ; or, if they would not capitulate, at least to come out of the temple, that the holy place might not be destroyed, for nothing but the most pressing necessity would induce the Romans to set fire to the sanctuary.

These intreaties only added greater fury to the wrath of the Jews, so that they placed their war-like engines upon the sacred gates of the temple itself,—thus, the holy house might be compared to a citadel, and all the courts around it to one common charnel house, so pent was the multitude of dead bodies that they contained. The impiety of the Jews was so appalling, that the Romans looked upon the holy house with a kind of sacred horror, and adored it, and wished that the seditious would repent before their miseries became incurable.

The anxiety of the Romans to preserve the sacred edifice was so great, that when the exhortation of Josephus failed of moving John to relent, Cæsar himself addressed him, and once more endeavoured to induce him to spare the temple, and shewed that nothing but the infatuated obstinacy of the Jews themselves would ever lead

him to consent to its destruction. "Have not you," said Titus, "by our own permission erected a partition wall before your sanctuary, and on its pillars have inscribed, that no foreigner shall go beyond it? and have not we permitted you to slay the man that passes it, even though he were a Roman? Yet you pollute this holy house with the blood, not only of foreigners, but of Jews themselves! I appeal to the gods of my own country—I appeal to mine own army—I appeal to those Jews who are with me, and even to you yourselves, that I do not compel you to defile this sanctuary; and if you will but change the place of battle, no Roman shall approach your holy house, or offer any insult to your sanctuary. Nay, I will myself preserve that holy temple even in despite of you, and whether you will or no!"

As Josephus interpreted these words from the lips of Cæsar, the infatuated Jews attributed them to the fears of Titus, rather than his respect for that sacred place; and, instead of being pacified or affected by the regard of a Roman for the temple of Jehovah, they only became more insolent. When, therefore, Titus perceived that neither pity

for themselves, nor regard for their sanctuary, had power to subdue their hearts, or lead them to change the field of slaughter, he proceeded, though unwillingly, to take the only steps that remained for him to finish the conflict.

As the spot was too confined to permit him to bring all his army against them, he selected thirty of the most valiant of his men out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to every tribune, he appointed Cerealis commander-in-chief, and gave orders that he should attack the guards of the temple at the ninth hour of the night. And while Cæsar was himself in armour preparing to go down with them, his friends crowded near to prevent him, on account of the greatness of the danger; the commanders suggesting that he would do more by sitting above in the tower of Antonia as a witness of the fight, and a dispenser of rewards, than by hazarding his own person in the forefront of the battle, for the soldiers would be stimulated by thinking that Cæsar beheld them. With this advice he complied, and sending off Cerealis, he went out himself to a more elevated situation in the tower, from whence he

might witness the combat, and there awaited with impatience the result.

The Romans did not, as they expected, find the Jewish guard asleep, but awake and ready to receive them, so that the battle began on the instant; and as soon as those who were within the temple heard the shout of the watch, they rushed out in troops upon the enemy. The Romans received the onset of those who came first, but they that followed fell upon their own men, confused by the noise and darkness of the night, and that blindness which arose at once from passion and fear. This darkness and disorder was less injurious to the Romans,—who were joined together under their shields, who made their sallies with more science, and who constantly retained the recollection of their watchword,—than to their adversaries; while the Jews were attacked, dispersed, and retreated at random, and fought against themselves as often as against the enemy; imagining that those who fell back upon them were Romans, while, in fact, they were Jews; and by that means, till day light appeared, more of their own people were slain by their own hands

than by the soldiers of Titus. But when the dawn appeared, they stood in battle-array, cast their darts, and acted in defence, with perfect order.

The Romans, being under the eye of Titus, fought, both individually and in whole cohorts, with the most distinguished bravery, each expecting that this day would witness his own promotion. The Jews, on their part, were urged to the conflict, at once by fear for themselves and for their temple; while John, the tyrant, encouraged some, exhorted others, and beat and threatened by turns. The nature of the battle, on account of the narrow ground which it occupied, admitted only of sudden assaults, for there was no room for flight or pursuit. But from the tower of Antonia, where the Romans stood as spectators of the contest, there was ever and anon a tumultuous shout; the soldiers calling to their comrades to press on, as they saw them advance,—and to stand, as they saw them retiring. It was, in short, a theatre of war, on which the actors were Jews and Romans,—the audience Cæsar and his legions,—the scene Jerusalem and its temple!

The battle,—which continued from the ninth hour of the night to the fifth hour of the day, and which occupied the same spot on which it had begun,—ended without any advantage being gained by either party. Victory belonged to neither: but many had signalized their courage on both sides. Among the Jews, those under Simon who were most distinguished, were Judas the son of Merto, and Simon the son of Sosas. Among the Idumeans, James, and Simon, the sons of Cathias, and of Sosas. John's heroes were Gyphtheus and Alexas; and among the zealots, the most warlike was Simon the son of Jairus.

Meanwhile the rest of the Roman army continued to undermine the foundations of Antonia, and succeeded in making a broad way for the entrance of the legions, as far as the outer court, or Court of the Gentiles, and began to raise banks over against the inner temple,—over the two gates,—at the western cloister, and at the northern cloister. For materials to construct these banks, the Romans had to go to the distance of a hundred furlongs from the city.

The Jews being now so dreadfully pressed by

the famine, and prevented all egress from the city, determined to make an assault upon the Roman guards, encamped upon the Mount of Olives; and this they did at the eleventh hour of the day, two days after the Romans had ascended the breach. Upon this there was a sharp encounter, and great actions were performed on both sides; the Romans displaying their usual courage and skill in war, and the Jews their immoderate violence and intolerable passion. The one part were urged by shame, the other by necessity. When the Jews were beaten, and forced down into the valley, a Roman horseman of the name of Pedanius, spurred on their flank with great violence, and caught up a young Jew by his ankle as he was flying away. Pedanius was of a robust body, and clothed in armour; yet so low did he bend himself from his horse, though on full gallop, and so great was the strength of his right hand, and so exquisite his skill in horsemanship, that he seized upon the Jew as a precious treasure, and carried him captive to Cæsar. Titus admired the prowess and horsemanship of Pedanius, but ordered the Jew to be put to death.

While Cæsar continued to advance his works, and the war pressed higher and higher, creeping up even to the holy house itself, the Jews were compelled to cut off, as it were, those limbs of their own body which were infected, to prevent the disease spreading farther; and to set fire to the north-west cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, and thereby made a beginning of the burning of the sanctuary. Two days after, the Romans burnt the cloister next to it, and the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews cut off its roof, nor did they entirely leave off the work of destruction, till the tower of Antonia was separated from the temple; nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire, deeming this spreading of the flames to be for their own advantage. Meanwhile both armies continued fighting round the temple, and the war was carried on by perpetual sallies. While the Jews, as usual, had recourse to all those stratagems which so strongly mark the details of the history of this war; and, among others, filling one of the cloisters with combustible materials, they withdrew from it, and upon the Romans getting on the roof, they

set it on fire, and destroyed great numbers of the soldiers. The Romans, in their turn, burnt down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley called Cedron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was terrific. Such was the state of the temple at this time. It remains to give some account of the famine.



CHAP. X.

Ben Cathla. But ever as she minister'd,
Quick, sudden sobs of laughter broke from her.
At length the vessel's cov'ring she raised up,
And there it lay——

High Priest. What lay?—Thou'rt sick and pale——

Ben Cathla. By earth! and heaven!—the remnant of a child!

Fall of Jerusalem.

THE multitude who perished by the famine in the city was innumerable, and the miseries they endured unutterable. If so much as a shadow of any species of food was visible, the dearest ties of kindred and relationship were forgotten, and each began to fight, snatching from one another the most loathsome and disgusting articles for the support of life. Nor would they believe that even the dying had no food, but would search them while expiring, thinking that they coun-

terfeited the pangs of death, and had food concealed in their bosoms. These robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering, reeling against the houses as if they were intoxicated, and in their distress would rush into the same houses two or three times in one day. The pangs of hunger were so intolerable that it compelled them to chew every thing, even such things as the most sordid animals would not look upon. Girdles and shoes, even the leather which covered their shields of war, they tore off and gnawed. Wispes of old hay became food to some; and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four attic drachmæ. "But why," exclaims Josephus, "should I speak merely of men eating inanimate things? while I am about to relate a fact which has no parallel in history, either among the Greeks or barbarians. I would indeed gladly have omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity; but, besides that I have innumerable witnesses to it in mine own age, my country would have little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries she underwent."

There was a woman that dwelt beyond Jordan, of the name of Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, of the village of Bethesab. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had taken refuge with others in Jerusalem, during the war in Judea, and was there at this time. All the effects which she had brought with her from Perea had been seized. What food she had treasured up, and contrived to save, had also been stolen from her by the rapacious guards, who came every day to her house for that purpose. The frequency of these visits had led her to utter many reproaches and imprecations upon the soldiers, yet none of them had taken away her life; and if she found any food, her labours were for others and not for herself, as it was instantly taken from her. It was now impossible for her to get any more food; the famine pierced through her vitals, and her passion against the soldiers was fired beyond the famine itself. So that, urged by her rage and hunger, she snatched up her son, who was an infant sucking at her bosom, and exclaimed, "O thou miserable infant, for whom shall I preserve thee in this war,—this famine,—this se-

dition ? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves,—the famine will destroy us even before slavery can come upon us,—yet are the seditious more terrible than both. Come on, then,—be thou my food,—be thou a fury to these seditious robbers,—be thou a bye-word to the world,—it is all that is wanting to complete the calamities of the Jews !”

As soon as she had uttered these words, she slew her son,—then roasted him,—and, eating the one half, she kept the remainder concealed !

The seditious presently came in, and scenting her horrible repast, threatened her with instant death if she did not reveal where it was hid. She replied that she had saved a portion for them, and uncovered what was left ! Upon this discovery, the seditious were paralyzed with horror, and stood fixed with astonishment and amazement of mind. “ This is mine own son,” she exclaimed ; “ this was mine own doing,—come, eat of this food, for I have fed upon it myself. Pretend not to be more delicate than a woman,—more compassionate than a mother. But if you be so

crupulous, and abominate this my sacrifice, let the remainder be reserved for me."*

The men went out trembling with horror and affright, and with some difficulty left the rest of

* Josephus in relating the above terrific transaction, says that it is a fact unparalleled in any history, either among the Greeks or barbarians, horrible to speak of, and incredible when heard. But he seems to have forgotten the details of the famine during the siege of Samaria, by Ben-hadad, king of Syria, and that the straits to which Israel was exposed in those days, were as great as the calamities afterwards sustained by Judah.—“And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O king! And he said, if the Lord do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the barn-floor, or out of the wine press? And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered. This woman said unto me”—See 2 Kings vi. 26—29; we suppress the rest of the quotation, as too shocking to be dwelt upon even for a moment. Yet among the many plagues predicted against the Jews for disobedience, none seems more frequently to have been foretold than this very thing, as may be seen by consulting the following references, which go back to the days of Moses. Lev. xxvi. 29. Deut. xxviii. 53—57. Jer. xix. 9. Lam. ii. 20. and iv. 10. If such afflictions have ever happened in any other nation of the earth, it appears that no historian has been found willing to stain his page with the record.

that meal to the mother. Upon this the whole city was full of the noise of this horrid action ; and, while every one laid the miserable case before their own eyes, each trembled as if this unheard of deed had been committed by themselves. Those who were pained by the famine now wished only for death ; and those already dead were envied, because they had not survived to hear or see such miseries as these.

This sad circumstance was soon communicated to the Romans, many of whom disbelieved it, and others pitied the sorrows of the Jews. As for Cæsar, he excused himself before the gods as to this matter, and said, “ that he had proposed terms of peace and freedom to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all offences ; but that they had preferred sedition to concord,—war instead of peace,—and before abundance, they had chosen famine. That they had begun to burn down that temple which even the Romans would have preserved ; but that this atrocious act, of a mother feeding on her own child, ought to be covered over with the ruins of their country itself ; and

that men ought not to leave such a city on the habitable earth to be seen by the light of the sun !”

Now on the eighth day of the month Ab, two of the legions had completed their banks ; and Titus commanded the battering rams to be brought to bear against the western edifice of the inner temple, for the other engines had for six days unceasingly plyed against the walls without producing the slightest effect ; and indeed the vast size of the stones, and the strong manner in which they were connected together, resisted every attempt of all their engines to remove them. The Romans, however, undermined the foundations of the northern gate, and after incredible labour removed some of the outermost stones ; yet the gate was still upheld by the inner works, and remained altogether immoveable. The workmen, therefore, despairing of effecting any thing either by crows or engines, brought their ladders to mount the cloisters. The Jews permitted them to ascend the ladders, but no sooner were they up, than they attacked them, slew them, and thrust

them down, throwing them back headlong, ladders and all, full of armed men. A great slaughter was also made of the Jews, yet nevertheless they got possession of the Roman engines. But when Titus saw that all the efforts he made to preserve a foreign temple only tended to the destruction of his own troops, he gave orders to set the gates on fire. The soldiers no sooner received the command than it was executed ; and the silver with which the gates were covered, speedily carried the flame to the wood within them, whence it instantaneously spread all around, and caught hold of the cloisters.

When the Jews beheld themselves thus in the midst of flames, their spirits sunk within them, and their astonishment and grief was so great that not one seemed to make haste either to extinguish the flames or to defend himself. The fire prevailed all that day, and all the day following, for the soldiers were not able to consume the whole of the cloisters at once, but only in pieces.

Next day Titus commanded the fire to be quenched and a road to be made for the admis-

sion of the legions, while he himself convened the commanders. The six principal leaders of the Roman army accordingly came near, together with the procurators and tribunes, namely, Tiberius Alexander, commander of the army under Cæsar; Cerealis, commander of the fifth legion; Lepidas, commander of the tenth legion; Frigius, commander of the fifteenth; Eternius, leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea.

With these, Titus consulted what steps ought to be followed with regard to the holy temple. Some were of opinion it should be destroyed, according to the rules of war; others were for sparing it, provided the Jews would come out of it; but if they persisted in fighting there, that it ought no longer to be considered holy, but looked upon merely as a citadel, and then the impiety of destroying it would rest upon the Jews, and not on the Romans. Titus, however, appeared determined in his own mind to preserve the temple; he was unwilling to destroy so superb an edifice, and wished it saved, possibly to grace his own victory, and as an ornament to the Roman go-

verment while it continued. Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealis, agreed with the opinion of Cæsar; so the assembly dissolved, and Titus commanded chosen men to be taken out of the cohorts to make a way through the ruins, and to quench the fire.

On this occasion the Jews were so much exhausted in body, and under such consternation of mind, that they made no assaults on the enemy; but the next day they collected together their whole force, and ran out upon those who guarded the outer court of the temple about the second hour of the day. The guards received them with great bravery, covering themselves with their shields, and drawing their squadron close together; but it was evident they could not long stand the brunt of the battle, the multitudes of the Jews, and the warmth and passion with which they were assailed. But Cæsar perceiving from the tower of Antonia where he stood, that his soldiers were likely to give way, sent some chosen troops to support them. Upon which the Jews found themselves unable to sustain the conflict and retired; but as the Romans were going off,

the Jews returned ; and when the Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, until the fifth hour of the day, when, being overborne, they withdrew, and shut themselves up in the inner court of the temple.

After this Titus retired into the tower of Antonia, resolving with his whole army to storm the temple early the next morning, and to encamp around the holy house. As for that sacred place, God had doubtless doomed it to the fire, and the fatal day, according to the revolution of ages, had already arrived. It was the tenth day of the month Ab, the same on which it was formerly burned by the king of Babylon ; and the flames which now kindled around it, were lighted by the Jews themselves, or solely occasioned by them ; for, upon Caesar retiring to the tower of Antonia, the Jews lay quiet for a little while, and then again attacked the Romans, while they were endeavouring to quench the fire which was consuming the inner court of the temple ; but the Roman soldiers put the Jews to flight, and pursued them as far as the holy house itself. Here a soldier, without waiting for orders, and without any feeling of dread upon

his mind at so great an undertaking, hurried away by a certain divine fury, snatched a brand out of the flaming materials which lay scattered around him, and, being lifted up by another soldier, set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the apartments that were round about on the north side of the holy house.

Immediately some one came running to Titus and told him of this fire, while he was reposing in his tent after the fatigues of the morning's battle. Caesar instantly started up, and, unarmed as he was, hastened to the holy house in order to quench the fire. After him followed all his commanders, then the legions, all in the greatest astonishment; so that the clamour and tumult which arose from the disorderly movement of so great an army was truly terrible.

Caesar, by his voice and gestures, calling to the soldiers, and making signals, endeavoured to get them to quench the flames. But they neither heard his voice nor observed his signals: the noise and confusion were so great, and their passions were so exasperated against the Jews, and their minds so distracted with the fierceness of

the conflict. As to the legions which came running thither, neither persuasions nor threatenings could restrain their fury; but each man's passion was his own commander, and as they crowded into the holy house, they trampled upon one another, fell among the smoking ruins of the cloisters, and, utterly regardless of Caesar's orders, encouraged only those that set on the fire. As for the seditious, their afflictions were so great they could not aid in quenching it, they were everywhere slain and defeated; and, as for the people, most of them were weak and without arms, and were murdered wherever they were taken; while round about the altar dead bodies lay heaped one above the other, and its sacred steps were deluged with blood.

While this dreadful scene was acting, Caesar, who could by no means restrain the enthusiastic fury of his soldiers, went with his commanders into the holy place, and saw all that it contained, and found it far superior to all that foreigners had related concerning it, and not inferior to what the Jews themselves had boasted of. Titus supposing it still possible to save some part of this su-

perb edifice, came out again with haste, and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to spare it, giving orders to Liberalius, and one of his spear-men, to beat the refractory soldiers with their staves, and if possible to restrain them. But neither their love nor dread of Cæsar had any power over them. The hope of plunder also induced them to proceed, for seeing that all around was made of gold, they expected that all within would be full of treasure. At last the flames burst from the holy house itself, and it was burned down, notwithstanding all that Cæsar desired, and all that he attempted to do to save it.

Thus, the most admirable of all the works on the earth was destroyed. Its magnificence, its curious workmanship, its magnitude, its wealth, its reputation for holiness, its glory,—all could not save it; the decree, inevitable and unalterable, which had gone forth against it, brought it to the dust! and that on the same day of the same month on which it was burned by the Babylonians.

The number of years from its first foundation by Solomon, to this destruction in the second

year of Vespasian, are one thousand, one hundred and thirty years, seven months, and fifteen days ; and from the period of its second building by Haggai—in the second year of Cyrus the king—to this its second destruction, were six hundred and thirty-nine years, and forty-five days.

CHAP. XI.

“ And great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences, and fearful sights, and great signs shall there be from heaven.”

ALL the calamities hitherto experienced by the miserable Jews, seemed light in comparison of this the acmé of their suffering—the destruction of the holy house.

While the temple was burning, thousands of Jews were taken and put to death. No respect was shewn to age or rank,—no pity to children,—no compassion to women,—no reverence to priests—all were slaughtered—all conditions of men were brought to destruction ; the same event happened to each, whether they supplicated for mercy, or defended themselves in battle.

As the hill—that “ mount Zion, beautiful for

situation on the sides of the north"—on which the temple was built was of great height, the whole city itself appeared as if on fire. The flames were carried an immense way off; nor can any thing be imagined more terrific than the noise, for the rattling of the flames was echoed from hill to hill—there was also the shout of the Roman legions,—the clamour of the seditious,—the groans of the dying,—and the lamentations of those who wept for the holy house. The multitude in the city also joined in the terrific cry; and though many of them were worn away with famine, and had their lips nearly closed, yet when they beheld the temple on fire, they exerted their last energies, and with their utmost strength broke out in groans and lamentations. Perea also returned the echo, and the mountains round about Jerusalem redoubled the fearful sound! Tremendous was the disorder, the confusion, and the tumult. The hill itself on which the temple stood was seething hot; and the blood was in greater quantity than the fire, and they that were slain were more in number than those who slew them, and no where was an inch of ground visi-

ble for the dead bodies which covered it, and the soldiers trampled over the heaps of slain. The multitudes of the seditious were now thrust out of the inner court of the temple, into the outer court, from whence they escaped into the city ; while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of the outer court. The priests, driven by the flames, retired to the wall, which was eight cubits broad, and there remained ; yet two of great eminence among them, Meirus and Joseph, who might have been saved by going over to the Romans, threw themselves into the fire, and perished with the temple.

The Romans ceased not in this work of destruction till they had burned down all that surrounded the holy house—the cloisters, the gates, the treasury chambers, in which were immense quantities of gold, and garments, and rich furniture ; in short, all the treasures of the rich and noble inhabitants who had built apartments for securing their property in the event of the Romans entering the city. In the cloisters of the outer court of the temple, the women and children had taken refuge, as well as a mixed multi-

tade, amounting to about six thousand. Before Cæsar had come to any decision what should be done with these unhappy creatures, the Roman soldiers set the place on fire, and not one of them escaped with life; for those who attempted to save themselves by throwing themselves down were killed on the spot. These people owed their destruction to a false prophet who had that very day made a public proclamation in the city, saying, that "God commanded them to go up to the temple, and there he would deliver them." Many false prophets were suborned by the tyrants to delude the people, that they might prevent them from deserting to the enemy. Thus, these miserable citizens were deceived by the deceivers, while they discredited the signs of God himself. God had already denounced evil upon the city; for a star resembling a sword, stood over Jerusalem, and a comet also which continued for a whole year. And before the tumults which preceded the war, when the people had come in great multitudes to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month Nisan, at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar

and the holy house, for the space of half an hour, that it appeared as bright as noon-day. This light appeared to the ignorant a token of good, but the sacred scribes interpreted it as foretelling portentous events. At the same festival, a heifer, as she was laid forth by the high priest for sacrifice, brought forth in the midst of the temple. The eastern gate of the temple, which was of brass, immensely heavy, and requiring twenty men to move it, which rested upon a basis of iron, and had bolts fastened into the floor, opened of its own accord at the sixth hour of the night. Those who kept watch ran instantly to inform the captain of the temple, who, not without great difficulty, had the gate closed again. But this appeared only to the ignorant vulgar as a happy omen; though to the learned it bore another aspect, denoting that their holy house was dissolved of its own accord, and its gate opened to their enemies. Besides all these, another prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared, the account of which might well be deemed a fable, were it not perfectly authenticated by eye-witnesses, and confirmed by the events that follow-

ed it. A few days after the above feast, on the twentieth day of the month Jyar, just before sunset, there appeared among the clouds of the sky, chariots, and troops of soldiers, running about and surrounding cities. And at the feast of Pentecost, when the priests, according to custom, were going up by night to perform their sacred ministrations in the inner court of the temple, they first felt a quaking, then a great noise, and after that a sound as of a great multitude, saying, **LET US REMOVE HENCE.** But what was still more striking, there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebian, and a husbandman, who, four years before the commencement of the war, when the city was in peace and prosperity, came up to the feast of tabernacles, and began on a sudden to cry aloud, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, a voice against the people." This was his cry perpetually day and night in the streets and lanes of the city. The eminent men among the people, indignant at this cry, had him severely scourged, but

he said nothing for himself, nor any thing peculiar against those who chastised him, but still repeated the same cry as before. He was afterwards brought before Albinus, the Roman procurator, who had him scourged and whipped till his bones were laid naked; yet he made no appeal to their pity, nor any supplication for himself, but at every lash of the whip, cried, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" Albinus conceiving him to be a madman, let him go free. This cry of his was always loudest at the festivals; and he continued his ditty for seven years and five months, till his presage was fulfilled in the siege by the Romans; when, going round the wall, he was killed by a stone from an engine, and, as he was uttering his usual words,—adding, "Woe to myself also," he gave up the ghost.

Our historian adds two other predictions to the foregoing, one of which is unimportant; but the other, mentioned as being the means of urging the Jews to undertake the war, evidently related to Messiah, whom they expected as a temporal prince, but which Josephus interprets in favour of the Romans. "That which did most elevate

them," says he, "in undertaking this war, was a certain ambiguous oracle found in their sacred books, intimating, that 'about this time one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth.' This oracle," he adds, "certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor of the Romans by the legions in Judea." Blessed be God, that we know the oracle was neither ambiguous nor unaccomplished; but that Jesus Christ, whom forty years before the Jews had crucified at Jerusalem, was that mighty Prince, King of every creature, and that "upon his shoulders is the government" of all the nations of the earth.

CHAP. XII.

"Therefore, said I, look away from me, I will weep bitterly, labour not to comfort me; because of the spoiling of the daughter of my people."

"And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

AFTER the destruction of the holy house, and the escape of the seditious into the city, the Roman soldiers brought their ensigns to the temple, and planted them on the site of the eastern gate. To them they offered sacrifices, and, with the loudest acclamations, declared Titus emperor.*

The Roman soldiers were so enriched by the

* "The entire religion of the Roman camp consisted in worshipping the ensigns,—in swearing by the ensigns,—and in preferring the ensigns before all the gods."

Tertullian.

spoils and plunder which they had collected, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value.

The priests who kept still upon the wall of the holy house, at last, pined with famine, came down on the fifth day and supplicated mercy from Titus. But he replied, that "the time for pardon was past, and that this very holy house, on whose account only they could hope for preservation, was destroyed, and that it was agreeable to their office that priests should perish with their temple." So he commanded them to be put to death.

The tyrants Simoa and John, with the rest of the seditious, being now shut up in the city, without hope of escape, desired an interview with Caesar that they might come to terms of peace: Accordingly, both parties appeared on each side of the bridge which connected the temple with the upper city, when Titus, commanding his soldiers to restrain their anger, spoke to the Jews by an interpreter.

On this occasion Titus enumerated the various provocations of the Jewish nation, and the

several acts of clemency shown towards them by the Romans ; concluding, by saying, " If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up yourselves to me, I grant you your lives, and I will act like a mild master of a family ; what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for mine own use."

To these terms the Jews replied, that they could not consent ; for that they had vowed never to lay down their arms, but desired permission to go through the wall, with which he had encircled them, with their wives and children, and that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him.

Titus, indignant that they should presume to make their own terms with him, as if they were the conquerors, ordered a proclamation to be made, " That they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any further security, for that henceforth he would fight them with his whole army, and treat them according to the laws of war." Accordingly, he ordered the soldiers to burn and plunder the city, who, next day, set fire to the repository of the ar-

chives,—to Acra,—to the council-house,—and to Ophlas; the flames reached as far as the palace of queen Helena, in the centre of Acra. They also burned down the lanes and the houses filled with the dead bodies of those who had perished by the famine.

On the same day, however, Titus, with more moderation, received the sons and brothers of Izates, the king, together with many other eminent men among the populace, who besought him to give them his right hand as a pledge of their safety. He kept them, however, all in custody, but still bound the king's sons and kinamen, and led them with him to Rome, as hostages for their country's fidelity.

The seditious now rushed into the royal palace, where they had placed their effects for security, and drove away the Romans from it. They slew all the people who had taken refuge there, and who amounted to eight thousand four hundred persons. Next day the Romans drove the seditious from the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam. The last hope which now supported the tyrants and the seditious, were the

caves and caverns underground ; to these they intended to resort, in the vain expectation that, when the Romans should have withdrawn from Jerusalem, they might again come forth : but this was no better than an idle dream, for they could not hide themselves from God, nor from the Romans, who were the instruments in God's hand for their destruction. Nevertheless, they depended on these subterranean concealments, and set more houses on fire than even the Romans ; and those who escaped from their flaming habitations, the seditious murdered in the ditches ; and if they discovered any food belonging to any of them, they swallowed it down together with their blood ; and if their destruction had not prevented it, doubtless they would have tasted even of the dead bodies themselves.

Cæsar now perceiving that the upper city was so steep that it could not be taken without banks, set his legions again to work on the twentieth day of the month Ab. The four legions erected their works on the west side of the city, opposite the royal palace ; but the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude, raised theirs at the

Xystus, from whence they reached to the bridge, and to the tower that Simon had built as a citadel for himself against John.

It was at this conjuncture that the Idumeans privately took counsel among themselves, to treat with Titus for their own surrender. But their plans were discovered by Simon, who, when they were preparing to march out, took their commanders and put them in prison, and had the multitude of the Idumeans watched by a garrison. Yet the garrison could not altogether prevent desertion, and though many were slain, still many more deserted.

These were received by Titus, who grew negligent as to his former orders of putting them to death; even the soldiers became weary of slaughter, and spared the Jews in hopes of gain; for they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and families, and these at a very low price, because the multitude was great and the purchasers few.* The num-

* "Ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you." *Deut.* xxviii. 68.

ber that were sold, however, was immense ; but forty thousand of the populace were saved, whom Cæsar permitted to go free.

It was at this time that Thebuthus,—one of the priests, upon the oath of Cæsar that he should be preserved, on condition of delivering up certain precious articles which had been deposited in the temple,—came out, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the holy house, with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all of solid gold, and very weighty. He also gave him up the veils and the garments, with the precious stones, and a great many other precious vessels which pertained to their sacred worship. Phineas, the treasurer of the temple, was seized, and shewed Titus the coats and girdles worn by the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, deposited for the uses of the veils ; also large quantities of cinnamon, cassia, and other sweet spices, which composed the sacred incense offered up to God every day. Many other things were also delivered to Cæsar, with the sacred ornaments of the temple, for which this man also obtained his pardon.

In eighteen days the Roman works were completed, and the engines brought to bear against the wall of the upper city; upon which many of the seditious, in despair, retired from the wall to the citadel. And even those who still continued to offer resistance, no sooner saw the walls and some towers fall under the force of the battering rams, than they fled away. Many, however, paralyzed with terror, and obeying only the dictates of fear, fell upon their faces, lamenting their fate, their nerves being so loosened that they had not even power to flee. Thus they came down from these towers of their own accord, from which they never could have been dislodged but by famine; for three of these towers were so strong, that no mechanical force in the world could have made any impression upon them.

They left them, therefore, or rather they were ejected out of them by God, and fled towards Sileam, where they rallied, and made an assault upon the Roman wall; but they were so much dejected and depressed, and so broken with affliction and fear, that the guards easily repulsed them, and dispersing at distances from each other,

they went down into the subterranean caverns. Thus the Romans took possession of the walls with great rejoicing and shouting, believing it hardly possible that they had thus, without bloodshed, found the end of the war so much lighter than the beginning ; and, seeing nobody to oppose them, they wondered what this solitude could mean. They then rushed into the lanes of the city, and put to the sword all whom they met, setting fire to the houses whether the people had fled, burning every one in them. And when they entered any house in search of plunder, they found only entire families of dead men, the upper rooms full of corpses, which made them stand in horror, and withdraw in a moment. But though they were thus affected with the state of the dead, they had no pity for the living, but slew with the sword all whom they met, till the very flames were nearly quenched with blood. But though the slayers left off at evening, the fire prevailed in the night ; and as all was burning, came on the dawn of the eighth day of the month Elul, upon the flaming embers of Jerusalem ; a city that had sustained such an accumulation of

miseries, that, had it been blessed from the day of its first foundation with a proportion of happiness equal to the evils it suffered during this siege, would certainly have been the envy of the world.

When Titus entered the upper city, he expressed his admiration of its strength, especially of those towers which the tyrants had relinquished ; and when he beheld their solid altitude, the immense size of the stones of which they were built, and the symmetry of their joints, he exclaimed, "The gods have surely been our assistants in this war, and ejected the Jews out of those fortresses ; for by what power of man, or what force of mechanism could they have been overthrown ?" And though he entirely demolished the rest of the city, he spared these towers as a monument of his good fortune.

Notwithstanding the number of the Jews who had been slain during the siege, an immense multitude were still found alive ; but Caesar gave orders that none should be slain but such as were in arms, and opposed to them. The soldiers, however, slew not only those they met in arms, but all the aged and infirm ; but such as were

young, and might be useful to them, they drove in hards into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the Court of the Women; and Caesar set one of his freed-men over them, and Fronto, his friend, who was to determine every one's fate according to his merits. Fronto slew all the seditious, who were impeached by one another, but he reserved the tallest and most beautiful of the young men to grace the triumph of Titus. As for the rest of the multitude, above seventeen years of age, he put them in bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also sent them in presents into the provinces, that they might be destroyed upon the theatres by the wild beasts; but those under seventeen years old were sold for slaves. While Fronto was engaged in this work of discrimination, eleven thousand Jews perished for want. From some, the food was withheld by the Roman guards, but others would not take it when offered to them. The multitude indeed was so great that there was not corn enough for their sustenance.

The number of those carried away captive, during the whole war, was ninety-seven thou-

sand; the number of those that perished during the siege, eleven hundred thousand! These had come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and, being suddenly shut up in Jerusalem by the besieging army, were destroyed both by the pestilence and famine, as well as by the war. That the city could contain such a multitude is undoubted, a census having been made by the high priests during the reign of Nero, who, calculating the people by the number of sacrifices at the Passover, gave the immense amount of two millions, seven hundred thousand, and two hundred persons, that were ceremonially pure and holy. The vast multitude in Jerusalem, during the siege by Titus, was not the stated inhabitants of the city, but persons collected out of all the countries round about, and consisting of both Jews and proselytes. And what is here observed by the translator, may well be embodied in our text, though it is no remark of Josephus, namely, that no foreign nation had ever come up before against the Jews at any of their solemn festivals, because the promise was express, that at such times "no man should desire their land."

This, therefore, was one evidence more of their apostasy from God.

Besides those already enumerated as slain and carried away captive, many Jews were found in the vaults and caverns underground; two thousand of whom had been slain, partly by their own hands, partly by one another, but chiefly consumed by famine. The effluvia from the putrid bodies was so dreadful as to repel even the cupidity of the Romans, who went down in search of gold, for much treasure was found there; and the Romans trode over the dead bodies which lay in heaps that they might possess themselves of the spoil. John who, together with his brethren, had hid himself in these subterranean passages, oppressed by the pangs of hunger, now solicited as a boon that right hand of security which he had before so often and so proudly rejected. He was accordingly brought out under a promise of life, but was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Simon, who had fled from the upper city at the time Titus was entering the walls, took with him some of his most faithful friends, and certain men who were stone-cutters, with the tools and in-

struments of their trade ; also, as many provisions as would sustain them for a length of time, and concealed themselves in a certain cavern, the entrance to which was not visible above ground. Here they vainly hoped to be able to work their way to some outlet beyond the city, and escape in safety. But the miners proceeded so slowly, and met with so many obstacles, and their provisions failing them, Simon resolved upon coming above ground ; and disguising himself, hoped to elude the vigilance of the Romans. So he put on a white frock, and threw over him a purple cloak, and appeared out of the earth on the site of the temple. They who saw him at first were astonished, but he was afterwards known, and put in bonds, and kept to grace the triumph of Titus at Rome, on which occasion he was put to death.

The Romans having finally achieved their victory, utterly demolished the walls, and set fire to the extremities of the city ; and thus, in the second year of Vespasian, and on the eight day of the month Elul, Jerusalem was taken ; and neither its great antiquity, its immense riches, its

magnificence, nor its celebrity—neither the diffusion of its nation over all the earth, nor the greatness of the veneration in which it was held, were sufficient to preserve it from destruction. For the wickedness of the people was it destroyed, adds Josephus; but he points not at that act of supreme wickedness which was the immediate cause of its desolation; “His blood be upon us and upon our children!”—an imprecation fulfilled to the letter.

“O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!—

“Behold! your house is left unto you desolate!”

Thus, all the woes that were denounced upon Zion, “the perfection of beauty,” were fulfilled; not one jot or tittle remained unaccomplished. And this history of her destruction may be said to close the canon of the gospel, for those were the last words which Christ spake

concerning the temple, and were probably uttered at the moment when he took his last view of that sacred and long cherished spot. All the calamities which were to follow, were doubtless then present to his omniscient mind, and gave a keener edge to the sympathies of his humanity, and brought forth those words and tears, so full of grief and compassion, that it is impossible to divide the mingled emotions, and to say, which was the deepest—his love, or his sorrow.

The prophets had foreseen in vision all that was to happen to Zion ; and whether they portray her as a city once full of people—now she is become solitary,—whether as a princess among the provinces—now she is become tributary,—whether as a wife of youth—now she is forsaken,—whether as a matron—now she is a widow,—whether as a mother—now hath she forgotten her sucking child, and ceased to have compassion on the son of her womb, and has sunk below the level even of the sea-monsters.* “ For the hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own chil-

dren, they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people."

Doubtless, had the details of what passed in the interior of the city been conveyed to us by the same graphic pen which has portrayed the siege, all that we read of in the prophets would have been beheld accomplished to the letter. The famine itself implies all that is dreadful, beyond what imagination can conceive, or language utter; and those incidents which touch the heart, as an infant's hand touches the cheek, with a softness peculiar to their tenderness and delicacy, are sketched by the prophets with no less faithfulness of delineation assuredly, than the broader and more palpable features confirmed by Josephus. But with all that is related, much that was acted has not transpired; and though we see not, yet can we doubt that such and such predictions were fulfilled, as the following?

"The tongue of the *sucking child* cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst.

"The *young children* ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them.

"They that did feed delicately are desolate in

the streets; they that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills.

“ They took the young men to grind, and the *children* fell under the wood.

“ Those that I have swaddled and brought up, hath mine enemy consumed.”

If it be a dreadful evil to be abandoned of God—to be left even to the sport of our own hearts, and the play of our own passions, without the restraining grace of God; and the hedging up of his providences—what must it be to be under his malediction? How doth it eat as a canker, and wither as the blast of the desert! If we contrast the state of Jerusalem in the days of David and Solomon, with the scene we have been engaged in exhibiting, then may we know the difference between being beloved and cherished by the Almighty, and being denounced and pursued by his vengeance. “ The Lord,” saith the sweet singer of Israel, “ The Lord loveth the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.—For the Lord hath chosen Zion, he hath desired it for his habitation. This is my rest for ever, here

will I dwell, for I have desired it." "Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands, thy walls are continually before me."

If we would escape a worse destruction than that which befel the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and flee from the wrath to come, let us seek to Christ the Saviour of sinners, that he may be our refuge in that day when not only the cities of the earth shall be consumed, but the elements themselves shall melt with fervent heat, and the heavens and the earth pass away. Let us, by prayer and supplication, seek of God those graces of the Spirit, which shall make us meet to become inhabitants of that New Jerusalem which cometh down out of heaven, whose walls are salvation, and her gates praise.

CHAP. XIII.

" Wilt thou be angry with us for ever ? wilt thou draw out thine anger to all generations ? "

HAVING brought the account of the siege of the devoted city to a conclusion, we intend not to follow the triumph of Cæsar, or describe the pompous manner in which, from a tribunal planted amid the ashes of Jerusalem, he distributed rewards, and conferred honours on his legions. Neither do we mean to accompany him to Cæsarea, where he celebrated the birth-days of his imperial father and brother ; and to enrich the magnificent spectacle, gave two thousand five hundred captive Jews to be slain, burned, and torn in pieces by wild beasts, and gladiators. Such splendid sports became a heathen conqueror, the executioner of the vengeance of Jehovah, but

are utterly abominable in the view of any who know that God hath made of one blood all the dwellers upon earth ; or who have received, with any measure of faith and love, that heavenly precept, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." Neither would we trace the steps of the imperial victor to the capitol, or seek to engage the admiration of our reader for him, by presenting him clothed in purple, and crowned with laurel,—greeted by the acclamations of an unarmed and vain-glorious soldiery,—decked in silken vestures, and wreathed with garlands of flowers, offering vain oblations to the gods of the Gate of Pomp—"Gods of silver and of gold, the work of men's hands." Neither would we enumerate the sacred spoils that graced the triumph : Such pageants, on such occasions, are like insult added to sorrow : and perhaps of all the pangs that wrung the heart of the wretched Jew, beholding the golden table, and the golden candlestick—the lamps of the temple, and the book of the law, carried in such a procession—brought into his bosom its last, most exquisite, and most unutterable agony !

But as the whole circumstances of the history already detailed, are of a nature so painfully dishonourable to the Jewish nation, and as we would rather wish to leave upon the mind of the reader an affectionate feeling of sympathy and tenderness for the posterity of Abraham, and the descendants of the patriarchs ; we propose, in a rapid and brief sketch, to exhibit such particulars of the sufferings of this devoted people, since their exile from their holy city, as may well excite emotions of pity and compassion even in the hardest heart.

While we are aware that the destruction of Jerusalem and the misery of the Jews, their dispersion and degradation, were foretold by the prophets, and have since been accomplished in their experience, so also their return to God, their future usefulness in the church, and their future glory, are no less distinctly predicted, and will as assuredly be fulfilled. Let us then strain every effort to bring about, by the use of all legitimate means, this merciful purpose of our common Father ; and by our prayers, influence, wealth, or talents, endeavour to become far more honoured as the instruments of their restoration,

than the imperial Titus, in all his pride of pagan glory, was as their destroyer.

When the Roman had at last sheathed his glittering but blood-stained sword, he commanded the whole city to be razed to its foundations, preserving only the towers built by Herod the Great, as a memorial at once of the magnificence of his conquest, and the strength which had been opposed to him. The walls of the temple were also demolished for the sake of the treasures which were buried under their ruins, and Zion was at length literally ploughed as a field, by order of Terentius Rufus; and, in the words of the prophet, "Jerusalem became as heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest." "For," says Gibbon, "after the final destruction of the temple by Titus and Hadrian, a ploughshare was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deserted, and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary."*

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. IV. p. 150.

In the reign of Adrian the city was partly rebuilt, but all the ancient monuments were destroyed; and the places particularly venerated by the Jews, were profaned with a studied malignity. Adrian erected a theatre with the stones which had formed part of the building of the holy house; and he dedicated a temple to Jupiter on the spot formerly occupied by that of the most high God. And knowing that there was no description of animals which the Jews held more abominably unclean than swine, he placed the figure of a hog, sculptured in marble, over the gates of the city leading out toward Bethlehem. And as his antipathy to the Christians was hardly less rancorous than his hatred of the Jews, he erected a statue of Venus on Mount Calvary, and in the grotto at Bethlehem, he instituted rites in honour of the heathen Adonis.*

* For the historical facts detailed in this chapter,—except where other authorities are cited, the compiler is indebted—nearly *verbatim*,—to a “History of the Jews, by Hannah Adama.” America. A work of great research, and deep interest, and which is strongly recommended to the philanthropist and the Christian. This general acknowledgment is made to the author to save repetition.

At the fair of Terebinth, which was held on the plain of Mamre—that spot sacred to the Jews from so many and interesting associations, as the place where the uncreated angel of the covenant foretold the set time of the birth, of the long promised, and long desired, Isaac—the captive Jews were exposed to sale at the common price of cattle, from whence they were dispersed over the whole world ; and such of them as there “ found no man to buy them,” were carried to Gaza, another scene of former Jewish glory, and were sold there.

Adrian, ingenious in his malice, carried his cruelty so far as to forbid this unhappy people, on pain of death, from entering Jerusalem, and placed a vigilant garrison of the Roman cohorts to enforce the execution of his edict. He even forbade them to view their once beloved city from a distance. No doubt these things were permitted in the Providence of God, even from purposes of mercy, to convince the Jews that the laws of Moses, so far as they were only initiatory to a better order of things, were now abrogated,—that the types of the Old Testament were fulfilled,—that Messiah, the Prince, was come,—and

that it was in vain for them any longer to look for another. But their passionate recollections of their former glory, and the sacred and exclusive veneration with which they had in all generations ever viewed the scene of their local worship, still led their hearts with a melancholy and undiminished love towards Jerusalem ; and as David in the wilderness cried out, " O ! to see thy power and glory as I have seen thee in the SANCTUARY ! " so the exiled Hebrew still turned towards the site of the holy house, as if it contained only a local divinity.

" Before this last order of Adrian, the Jews were seen covered with rags, and traversing, with sighs and lamentations, the sides of the Mount of Olives, and wandering amid the ruins of the temple ; but even this favour they had to purchase of the Roman cohorts, whose avarice alone instigated them to transgress the orders of their emperor."* But Saint Gregory Nazianzen relates, that the Jews were permitted to enter *Ælia* once a-year to vent their sorrows ; and Saint Jerome

* *Gregoire, quoted by Adams.*

adits, that they were compelled to purchase, at an exorbitant price, the privilege of shedding tears over the ashes of their country.

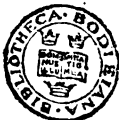
Five hundred and eighty-five thousand Jews, according to the account of Dio, perished by the sword during the war under Adrian ; prodigious numbers of slaves were sold, as we have already stated, at the fairs of Gaza and Mamre ; and fifty castles, and nine hundred and eighty-five villages were destroyed.*

At the time of Dioclesians' persecution, the very name of Jerusalem was so utterly forgotten, that a martyr having said, in reply to the question of a Roman governor, that he was a native of Jerusalem, the latter imagined it to be some factitious town secretly erected by the Christians. And the city continued to retain the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, till towards the conclusion of the seventh century.†

In the fourth century, Constantius renewed

* Travels in Palestine, by the Viscomte de Chateaubriand, vol. II. p. 58.

† Ibid.



and enforced the prohibition of Adrian, and the Jews viewed from afar the walls of the holy city, now not less profaned, in their opinion, by the triumphs of the cross, and the devotion of Christians, than by the abominations of heathen idolatry.

Having, in the intervening period, gained access again to the city, Heraclius, in the beginning of the seventh century, issued a new edict, forbidding them to approach within three miles of its walls.

The cruelties and indignities which this unhappy people have suffered in every succeeding age, and in every country whether they were driven, surpass the power of language to describe, or even the heart of man to conceive.

As they affected them nationally or collectively, they were immense and immeasurable. But who can tell their individual misery? Who can narrate their bosom sorrows? We hear of their afflictions in crowds—in multitudes—in thousands,—but what do we know of their domestic history—their home calamities—the affliction of fathers and mothers—of parents for their little

ones—of brothers for their sisters—of the bridegroom for the bride !

In England in the reign of Henry III., upon a petition from the inhabitants of Newcastle, the king granted them the inhospitable privilege of preventing every Jew from residing in their town. In the same reign, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Lincoln and Norwich, with a view of expelling the Jews from England, issued an order through their several dioceses, that no Christian should sell any provisions to a Jew on pain of excommunication !

In addition to such persecutions as these, every possible calumny was invented against them. In Norwich they were accused of stealing a Christian child in order to crucify him at the Passover. In London they were charged with murder and forgery,—of coining false money,—of counterfeiting the king's seal,—and, under these pretences, were deprived first of a third part of their property, and then loaded with enormous taxes. The hatred of the English against the Hebrew nation had risen to such a height, that when the barons appeared in arms against Henry,

the expedient they employed to secure the co-operation of the citizens of London in their favour, was to massacre seven hundred of this devoted people !

Nor was their condition at all ameliorated in the succeeding reign of Edward I. ; they were shunned as infamous, they were labelled as pestilential. No Christian was allowed to lodge in the dwelling of a Jew ; and upon their upper garment they were constrained to wear a mark by which they might be known and avoided : and, as if in mockery of Justice on the one hand, and misery on the other, a statute passed in this reign has the following clause, or words to that effect,—that the “ good christians shall not take above half their substance” from the Jews !

Though we behold the finger of God in all they suffered, let us not extenuate the guilt of their oppressors. It was indeed written by the inspiration of Him who knoweth the end from the beginning, that, for their disobedience and apostasy, they “ should be only oppressed and spoiled evermore, and that no man should save them.” But the foreknowledge of God does not

exonerate the base conduct of men, or release them from their responsibility. And while the Jews were thus groaning under so many evils, under contumely, and suspicion, and calumny, we need not wonder, as has been well observed, if they were become regardless of character, and cared not to cherish either principles of truth or integrity, where no credit would be given for their possession; and even thought it not criminal, amid the extortion and robbery of which they were the prey, sometimes to resort to methods of indemnification by no means justifiable.

In an appeal to the justice of nations and kings, cited in the transactions of the Sanhedrim at Paris, the following splendid, eloquent, and indignant apostrophé is made by the Jews, against the oppressions they have so long endured. "Compelled to wear exteriorly the badges of their abject state, the Jews were every where exposed to the insult of the vilest populace. When, from his solitary retreat, an enthusiastic hermit preached the crusades to the nations of Europe, and a part of its inhabitants left their country to moisten with their blood the plains of Palestine, the

knell of promiscuous massacre tolled before the alarm-bell of war. Millions of Jews were there murdered to glut the pious rage of the crusaders. Skulls of men, and bleeding hearts, were offered as holocausts on the altars of that God, who has no pleasure in the blood even of the innocent lamb; and ministers of peace were thrown into a holy enthusiasm by these bloody sacrifices. It is thus that Bazil, Treves, Coblenz and Cologne became human shambles; it is thus that upwards of four hundred thousand victims, of all ages, and of both sexes, lost their lives at Cæsarea and Alexandria! And is it after they have experienced such treatment, that they are reproached with their vices? Is it, after being for eighteen centuries the sport of contempt, that they are reproached with *being no longer alive to it*? Is it, after having so often glutted with their blood the thirst of their persecutors, that they are held out as enemies to other nations? Is it, when they have been bereft of all means to mollify the hearts of their tyrants, that indignation is roused, if now and then they cast a mournful look towards the ruins of their temple—towards their country,

where formerly happiness crowned their peaceful days free from the cares of ambition and riches ?”

Being accused, as we have already hinted, of adulterating the coin, circulating counterfeit money, and making fraudulent exchanges, all the Jews in England were in one day imprisoned throughout the kingdom ; and, besides those who suffered in the different counties, two hundred and eighty were executed in London.

Edward finally ordered them to be banished from the kingdom, and never to return under pain of death. He seized at once their *whole* property, and allowed them only money sufficient to bear their expenses into foreign countries. But the seamen of the Cinque Ports, whence they proceeded for embarkation, robbed most of them of that disgraceful pittance, and drowned some hundreds of these miserable outcasts by throwing them into the sea ! The number expelled amounted to upwards of sixteen thousand souls ; and the Jews did not again appear in England as a body, till five hundred and fifty years afterwards.

Though the Jews had long since ceased to inherit flocks and herds, the peculiar possessions of their ancestors, yet do we not trace, in these instances of extortion, of plunder, and spoliation—in this destitution of all their property—the fidelity of that portrait finished so many thousand years before by their still idolized lawgiver ! “Thine ox shall be slain before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat thereof ; thine ass shall be *violently* taken away from before thy face, and shall *not be restored* to thee ; thy sheep shall be given unto thine enemies, and thou shalt have *none to rescue* them. The fruit of thy land, and *all thy labours*, shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up ; and thou shalt be only oppressed, and crushed away !”

If such was the lot of the Jews in England, the land of so many superior pretensions, what must their fate have been among the more barbarous nations of the earth ? In France they became a part of the property attached to the soil—an article of trade—an object of commerce—where they were forbidden to change the place of their abode, or were transferred, with the domain, from one landholder to another ; or, harder still, were

sometimes sold separately from their families and kindred, rising or falling in value according to their talents, ingenuity, or industry.

In Portugal, that favoured seat of intolerant zeal, and inquisitorial mercy, Emmanuel the king, commanded all the children of the Jews, under fourteen years of age, to be separated from their parents, that they might be initiated in that religion falsely called Christian, to which they owed these tender mercies. The execution of this sentence of exquisite cruelty was attended, as might have been expected, by circumstances of the deepest sorrow ; and indeed many of the parents, in the frenzy which it inspired, both killed their children and destroyed themselves :—" Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them all the day long ; and there shall be no might in thine hand,—and among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest, but the Lord shall give thee a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind !"

In the same country, also, the name of Jew

became a term of such contempt, that it was necessary to enact laws for preventing its being applied by one man to the reproach of another. Thus the law declared, that if any man called another "a Jew" to his face, the person offended was at liberty to stab the offender without fear of punishment.* Thus, as in ten thousand other instances, their very name became "a reproach" and "a hissing."—"And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword among the nations, whither the Lord thy God shall lead thee."

To these instances of unmingled and unmitigated misery, one or two circumstances, of slight alleviation in their lot may be remarked. In Persia, under Shah Abbas I. and II., they met with no kindness, but they were afterwards numerous at Shiraz ; and at Lar, the capital of one of the provinces of Persia, they were treated with so much consideration, as to have a particular quarter of the city assigned for their habitations ; and they were permitted to extend themselves on the

* Gregoire,

coast of Ormuz, where they engaged in the trade with India. Though Bagdad, which was once the residence of the princes of the captivity, was much reduced after it was taken by Amurat IV., yet a large proportion of the inhabitants were Jews, who not only possessed a synagogue, but enjoyed the unrestrained exercise of their religion. But though their religion was tolerated, they were themselves both hated and despised by the Persians.

The condition of the Jews in Poland under Cassimir the Great, formed another exception to the universal cruelty with which they were treated in Europe. The extensive privileges which they enjoyed in that country, during his reign, were supposed to be in consequence of the monarch's regard for Esther, a beautiful Jewess, who had solicited, like the queen of Abasuerus, these immunities for her people.

Under John Sobieski, also, the Hebrews were so highly favoured, that his administration obtained, invidiously, the denomination of a Jewish junto.

In addition to these solitary exceptions, it may be noticed, that among the Roman pontiffs, Inno-

cent IV. undertook their vindication, when accused of crimes, so far as to say, that they were more miserable under Christian princes than their fathers had been under Pharoah. Clement VII. was also favourable to them, pitied their afflictions, and acted as their friend and protector; and when they were massacred without mercy in every other part of Europe, they found an asylum at Avignon.

Thus we have seen, that to all the accumulated afflictions sustained by the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem, what has befallen their posterity in the latter days has not been less severe. That they were a people favoured above all the nations of the earth, so long as they were an obedient, or even so long as they were occasionally, a penitent people, their own sacred books sufficiently attest. Their desertion by God for so many centuries, ought to be fraught with warning and admonition to us; for if the Lord spared not the natural branches, how will he deal with us if we also rebel? If the Jews, as a beloved people,—chosen before all the nations of the earth,—to whom pertained the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and

the giving of the law and the promises,—to whom the very elements were subservient,—who were fed with angels' food,—guided by a pillar of fire by night, and a pillar of a cloud by day,—to make place for whom, kings were dethroned, and nations were disinherited of their long possessed domains—If this people were, after all, deserted and forsaken of their God, O what may not we dread in this happier era of the gospel, if we keep not his commandments, neither remember his statutes, and his judgments to do them !

But, though long forsaken of God, they are not forgotten ; they shall yet dwell in Bashan and in Gilead, as in the days of old.* “ Again I

* As every thing that tends to throw light upon the Scripture, though it be but its local scenery, is interesting, we quote the following beautiful and animated passages from Buckingham's Travels among the mountains of Gilead, and rich pastures of Bashan ; a part of Palestine hitherto almost unvisited, and only penetrated by Mr Buckingham and his companion, Mr Bankes, at the greatest personal hazard.

“ We had no sooner passed the summit of the second range, going down a short distance on its eastern side,

will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel ! Thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shall go forth in the dances of them that make merry. Hear the word of the Lord,

by a very gentle descent, than we found ourselves on plains of nearly as high a level as the summits of the hills themselves, and certainly eight hundred feet above the stream of the Jordan. We were now in a land of extraordinary richness, abounding with the most beautiful prospects, clothed with thick forests, varied with verdant slopes, and possessing extensive plains. We continued our way to the north-east, through a country the beauty of which so surprised us, that we often asked each other what were our sensations ? as if to ascertain the reality of what we saw, and persuade each other, by confessions of mutual delight, that the picture before us was not an optical illusion. The landscape alone, which varied at every turn, and gave us new beauties from every point of view, was, of itself, worth all the pains of an excursion to the east of Jordan to obtain a sight of ; and the park-like scenes that sometimes softened the romantic wildness of the general character, as a whole, reminded us of similar spots in less neglected lands."—*Travels in Palestine, through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, by J. S. Buckingham, Vol. II. p. 104.*

O ye nations, and declare it in the isles afar off, and say, He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him as a shepherd doth his flock. Turn again, O virgin of Israel ! turn again to these thy cities."

If the religion of the Jew was a religion exclusive beyond that of all the sects and schisms of which the world has since been so prolific, surely the religion of the Christian is one of the most universal that the human mind is capable of conceiving ; and might, from this very peculiarity, combined with its other accompaniments of purity and sanctity, be sufficient to demonstrate its heavenly origin, as proceeding from the father of ALL, who will have ALL men to be saved. And if, in the exertions with which every day of the Christian's life in this happy era is so fully fraught, it is their endeavour to preach the gospel to every creature, to whom ought they to turn with a tenderness and affection beyond that due to all other nations, if not to their elder brother the Jew ? Though Jehevah, to manifest the splendour of his justice, and to evince the concentrated glory of all his attributes, has seen fit, for many

centuries, to pursue this devoted nation with "a flaming sword, turning every way" for their destruction,—and has fulfilled his own curse, "I will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance; and sore sickness, and of long continuance,"—yet he has not said for ever. The blessing absorbs the denunciation, even as the drop of dew is lost in the depths of the ocean. "Considerest thou not what this people have spoken; saying, The two families which the Lord hath chosen, he hath even cast them off? Thus saith the Lord, If my covenant be not with day and night, and if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth, then will I cast away the seed of Jacob, and David my servant.—For I will cause their captivity to return, and will have mercy upon them, saith the Lord."

Let us then not only cherish the hope, but take rest in the assurance, that if the expatriated Hebrew be not brought back to his local sanctuary,—of which, however, there seems to be no doubt,—and to his beloved earthly Jerusalem, he shall assuredly be brought back a willing subject

“ to David his king, and his eyes shall see the land that is very far off.” And that it may kindle in the heart of the reader some desire to aid in the blessed task of winning him to this sweet and sacred consummation, we shall here give an affecting instance of that “ fervid and melancholy love for the scene of his faith, which still glows in the heart of the Jew—a love which has outlived so many centuries of exile, and disappointment, and wretchedness,” that it throws the cold, lukewarm, and too often heartless devotion of the more highly favoured Christian into the shade, and ought to be to us a source of deep and self-abasing lamentation.

“ The Jews speak of Palestine,” says Buchanan, in his *Researches in India*, “ as if it were close at hand, and easily accessible. Distance of time and place seems to have no power to obliterate the remembrance of the desolation of Jerusalem. ‘ If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning ; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief

joy.' It has become an ordinance of their rabbins, in some places, that when a man builds a new house, he shall leave a small part of it unfinished, as an emblem of ruin, and write on it these words, *Zecher Lachorchan*, i.e. in memory of desolation."*

While the Asiatic Jew thus expresses his fond remembrance of that

"Beauty of earth's cities,"

and demonstrates that to him "her very dust is dear," the European Jew mourns over the fallen glory of his nation with all the pathos, passion, and eloquence, with which such a genius as that of Berr might be expected to weep, and plead for sorrows such as theirs.

† "Braving all kinds of torments, the pangs of death, and still more terrible pangs of life, we have withstood the impetuous torrent of time, sweeping indiscriminately in its course, nations,

* *Christian Researches in Asia*, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, quoted by Adams.

† *Michael Berr's Appeal to the Justice of Kings*.

religions, and countries. What has become of those celebrated empires whose very name still excites our admiration by the idea of splendid greatness attached to them, and whose power embraced the whole surface of the known globe? They are only remembered as monuments of the vanity of human greatness. Rome and Greece are no more : their descendants, mixed with other nations, have lost even the traces of their origin ; while a population of a few millions of men, so often subjugated, stands the test of thirty revolving centuries, and the fiery ordeal of fifteen centuries of persecution. We still preserve laws which were given to us in the first days of the world, in the infancy of nature. The last followers of a religion which had embraced the universe, have disappeared these fifteen centuries, and our temples are still standing. We alone have been spared by the indiscriminating hand of time, like a column left standing amid the wreck of worlds, and the ruins of nature. The history of our people connects present times with the first ages of the world, by the testimony it bears to the existence of those early periods. It begins at the

cradle of mankind, and its remnants are likely to be preserved to the very day of universal destruction !”*

Having portrayed the feelings of those

“ Tribes of the wand’ring foot, and weary breast,”

inhabiting Asia and Europe, I shall conclude the series of citations in this chapter, by exhibiting the touching picture of the unmurmuring Jew in his beloved Jerusalem, a “ wretched outlaw from justice and compassion,” from sympathy and human charity, with his eyes still fixed upon Zion, as if he knew *by heart* that Scripture quoted by the apostle of the Gentiles, “ There shall come

* In this enlightened period a more generous system is taking place. France has allowed them the rights of citizens, which induces a number of the most wealthy Jews to fix their residence in that country. Poland is about granting them very great privileges and immunities ; England, Holland, and Prussia tolerate and protect them, and the Emperor has revoked some restrictions, for which an edict has lately passed ; Spain, Portugal, and some of the Italian States, are still, however, totally averse to their dwelling among them.

Encyclop. Britan. Vol. IX. Art. Jews.

out of Zion the deliverer, and he shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob."—The Lord hasten the auspicious moment, "for if the casting away of the Jews be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?"

"While the new—or modern—Jerusalem is seen shining in the midst of the desert, you may observe between Mount Zion and the temple another spectacle of almost equal interest; it is that of the remnant of another people, distinct from the rest of the inhabitants; a people individually the objects of universal contempt, who suffer the most wanton outrages without a murmur; who endure wounds and blows without a sigh; who, when the sacrifice of their life is demanded, unhesitatingly stretch forth their neck to the sabre. If a member of the community, thus cruelly proscribed and abused, happen to die, his companions bury him clandestinely during the night, in the valley of Jehosaphat, within the purlieus of the temple of Solomon. Enter their habitation, and you find them in the most squalid misery, occupied, for the most part, in reading a

mysterious book to their children, with whom again it becomes a manual for the instruction of succeeding generations. What these wretched outlaws from the justice and compassion of the rest of mankind did in the first ages, they do still. Six times they have witnessed the destruction of Jerusalem, and are not yet discouraged. Nothing can operate to divert their looks from Zion. We are surprised no doubt when we observe the Jews scattered over the face of the earth; but to experience an astonishment more lively, we have but to seek them in Jerusalem. The legitimate masters of Judea should be seen in their own land, slaves and strangers; they should be seen awaiting, under the most cruel and oppressive of all despotisms, a king who is to work their deliverance. Near the temple, of which there does not remain one stone upon another, they still continue to dwell; and with the cross as it were planted upon their heads, and bending them to the earth, still cling to their errors, still labour under the same deplorable and affecting infatuation. The Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, are swept from the earth; and a petty tribe,

whose origin preceded that of these great nations, still remains unmixed among the ruins of its native land. If any thing among nations wears the character of a miracle, that character is here legibly impressed."*

In these circumstances of deepest wretchedness, with no eye to pity, no lip to utter in the accents of compassion, "Alas! my brother!" let the Christian church send up her strong supplications, that while Israel ponders that beloved book, and teacheth it to his children, the mystic thaled may be removed from his eyes, and blindness from his heart, and that he may be enabled to behold, even in his own degradation, the last and mightiest link in the chain of argument and of prophecy, that Shiloh is come, and that Jesus Christ, "the crucified and slain," is the alone deliverer!

* Chateaubriand's Travels in Palestine, vol. II. p. 183.

CHAP. XIV.

" Loose thyself from the bands of thy neck,
" O captive daughter of Zion !"

THE recent journals of travellers in Palestine, contain little to satisfy the feelings of those who search in such records for information respecting the children of Israel in the land of their fathers ; and perhaps nothing could more strongly mark the indifference and apathy with which the Jews are viewed by common observers, or the low state of their political and religious existence, than the total silence preserved regarding them by travellers, otherwise intelligent, classic, and communicative,—who have measured every monument and vestige of antiquity in and around Jerusalem,—

have traced the windings of the brook Cedron,—the ascent to the Mount of Olives,—the site of the temple of Solomon,—the extent and circumference of the new city, without once alluding to the original masters of Judea, except perhaps as a nation which once existed, but of whom all traces have since been lost.

It belonged, indeed, to the man of genius to sketch, as we have shewn, with a pencil of fire, the Jew in Jerusalem ! and, doubtless, after such a picture, few would be found hardy enough to attempt another. The Christian missionary, however, undeterred by the fear of failure, because unambitious of the glory of success, has given us various details of the circumstances and character of the Hebrews scattered throughout Palestine. And the excellent and enthusiastic Richardson, amid “ the interesting scenes, and places of glorious recollection ” with which the holy land abounds, has delighted us with many expressions of fine scriptural feeling, if he has not also thrown some light upon the present state of the Jews in Judea.

As in this book we pretend to no higher honour than that due to a compiler, we shall endeavour to condense, into as small a compass as possible, the materials we have been enabled to collect, for illustrating the actual condition of the dispersed of Israel now in the Holy Land.

We have already related that Jerusalem was rebuilt by Adrian, under the name of *Ælia*, and it now occupies the same spot as it did then, Mount Calvary being included within the walls. After being transformed into a Pagan city, Helena, the mother of Constantine, overthrew its monuments of idolatry, and erected over the supposed site of the sepulchre of Christ, a magnificent church, which included as many of the scenes of our Saviour's sufferings, as superstition and tradition could conveniently crowd into one spot.

The emperor Julian, in the true spirit of an apostate, designing to give the lie to prophecy, assembled the Jews at Jerusalem, and endeavoured in vain to rebuild the temple. In this attempt he was frustrated by an earthquake and fiery eruptions from the earth, which totally destroyed

the work, consumed the materials which had been collected, and killed a great number of the workmen.*

Jerusalem continued in the power of the eastern emperors till the reign of the caliph Omar, the third in succession from Mahomet, who reduced it under his subjection.

The Saracens continued masters of Jerusalem till the year 1099, when it was taken by the crusaders, under Godfrey of Bouillon. They founded a new kingdom, of which Jerusalem was the capital, and which lasted eighty-eight years, under nine kings. At last this kingdom was utterly ruined by Saladin; and though the Christians once more got possession of the city, they were again obliged to relinquish it. In 1217, the Saracens were expelled by the Turks, who have ever since continued in possession of it.

Seventeen times has Jerusalem been taken and pillaged: millions of men have been slaughtered within its walls. No other city has experienced

* Ammianus Marcellinus and Gregory Nazianzen, quoted in the controversy with Warburton.

such a fate. This protracted and almost supernatural punishment announces unexampled guilt.*

The present political state of Jerusalem is perhaps as low as it has been at any time while under the dominion of the Turks. It has not even the honour of ranking as a provincial capital, and enjoys none of the immunities peculiar to the other *holy cities* of Islamism. It is included within the pashalic of Damascus, and is governed by a Mutesellim, appointed from thence. No deference is created by the peculiar sanctity of the place, as is done by that of the Arabian cities of Mecca and Medina; for while a governor of either of these is honoured by distinguished privileges, the Mutesellim of Jerusalem ranks only as a magistrate of a provincial town.

The force usually kept in Jerusalem consists of about a thousand soldiers, including horse and foot, armed and equipped in the common Turkish fashion, and composed of Turks, Arabs, and Albanians. These are stated to be sufficient to repel any attack from the armies of the country,

* Chateaubriand.

but could offer no effectual resistance to European troops.*

With regard to the present appearance of Jerusalem, while some have described it as full of "glittering domes and stately palaces," † others have spoken of it as a cemetery in the midst of a desert. ‡ Allowance, however, must be made for the different feelings, and different prepossessions and prejudices of men, as well as for the point of view from which the object is beheld. He who describes it, therefore, more as a matter-of-fact-man than as a man of genius, an enthusiast or an artist, is the safest to follow, and the least likely to mislead.

"Though long stripped of its ancient beauty, it may still be ranked as a considerable city. It appears to be in the form of a triangle, and is si-

* Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, vol. II.

† Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land.

‡ A la vue de ces maisons de pierres, renfermées dans un paysage de pierres, on se demande si ce ne sont pas là les monumens confus d'un cimetière au milieu d'un désert? — Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem* tom II.

tuated on a rocky eminence, with steep ascents on all sides, and at the south end of a large plain, extending northward to Samaria, inclosed with walls, which in some parts may be one hundred and fifty feet in height, encompassed by a deep valley enveloped with mountains. From a distance, it presents a most imposing appearance ; but, internally, ruins, wretchedness, desolation, narrow streets, filthy bazaars, and a few relics of sculpture, appear to be all the evidence of its former grandeur. It contains six gates, which are regularly shut at sunset. To the north is the holy sepulchre ; Mount Zion to the south ; and to the east is the place where the temple of Solomon formerly stood."*

With regard to the population of Jerusalem, it is a matter of some difficulty properly to ascertain it, because the inhabitants consisting of so many different nations, sects, and parties, each separately, desires to multiply his own particular proportion above that of all the others. The

* Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land, by W. R. Wilson, p. 112.

number of inhabitants, however, is generally computed at between eighteen and twenty thousand. Among these are reckoned five thousand Mussulmans, five thousand Christians, and three or four thousand Jews. Of the latter, only one thousand are males, and three thousand females. The Mahomedans consist of nearly equal portions of Osmanli Turks from Asia minor; descendants of pure Turks by blood, but Arabians by birth; a mixture of Turkish and Arabian by intermarriages, and pure Syrian Arabs. The Christians consist of a variety of sects, of which the Greeks are the most numerous. *

It is melancholy to reflect, that in the city of Jerusalem, there should be found at this day only such a proportion of Jews as in the times of Solomon would merely have sufficed for porters to wait at the gates of the temple, and which is numerically less than the choir that David ordained to praise the Lord on instruments of music; besides a hierarchy of six thousand priests of the house of Aaron, and twenty four thousand

* Modern Traveller, Part I. p. 147.

Levites, for the other services of the sanctuary.* Even in the days of Vespasian, the population of Judea, properly so called, including Galilee, Palestine, and Idumea, amounted to upwards of seven millions; and, at the siege of Jerusalem alone, eleven hundred thousand Jews perished! How has the malediction of Jehovah scattered and peeled the holy nation. So early as in the thirteenth century, when † Benjamin of Tudela wan-

* The tribe of Levi, when numbered in the wilderness, contained twenty-two thousand males above a-month old, and eight thousand five hundred and eighty males between thirty and fifty. † They were all devoted to the service of Jehovah; but only a single family, that of Aaron, had the privilege of furnishing priests for the altar: the rest of the Levites were only the servants of the priests. In David's time, the number of the Levites, from twenty years and upwards, was thirty eight thousand; ‡ that of the priests six thousand.

Helon's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, vol. II. p. 81.

† Benjamin of Tudela was a Spanish Jew who travelled in the thirteenth century, to ascertain the state of the

* Numb. iii. 39.

† Numb. iv. 48.

‡ 1 Chron. xxiii. 3.

dered over the earth to number his people, the Jews were diminished to one-sixth of the amount of their population, previous to the dispersion.

Though it is to the Jews alone that we would particularly limit our observations at present, yet the state of Christianity in the land of Zion is not itself uninteresting ; and nothing can be more affecting than to behold the holy city, not only trodden down under foot of the Gentile worshippers of the imposter, but also degraded by the folly and avarice of devotees calling themselves Christian. Mr Jowet, in his *Researches in the Mediterranean and Palestine*, gives a melancholy account of the spirit of superstition which he witnessed in the churches of Jerusalem. And the following narration of his interview with Daniel, the bishop of Nazareth, whom he met with in the holy city, is touching both as it relates to Islamism, and to Christianity ; and few perhaps will be found able to peruse it, without saying, with the Greek bishop, "How long ? O Lord ! how long ?"

Hebrew nation in the known world. It is not, however, certain that he visited all the places mentioned by him.

Chateaubriand, vol. II.

“ I went in the course of the afternoon to see the bishop of Nazareth, Daniel.—He was inquisitive to know of what rite my servant was ; I gladly availed myself of the opportunity of explaining to him in what light I regarded these differences. The youth, I said, is by profession of the Latin church, but I did not, in taking him into my service, inquire into that matter, but merely desired him in the morning and evening to come to us when we read the Bible, and pray together, to which he never made the least objection, but, on the contrary, seems to be pleased with it.

“ The bishop was very attentive, and spoke little ; so that, as I feared to trespass on his feelings, the conversation was often suspended. Indeed I thought I perceived a great degree of dejection on his countenance.

“ Presently it being three o'clock, our attention was roused by the voice of the Mowadden from one of the minarets, calling the Mahomedans to their usual prayers at that hour. The bishop mournfully turned to me and exclaimed, “ How long ? ”—His few and simple words quite

sunk into my heart. I said it was truly painful to hear that sound in the holy city, and that I viewed with sincere sympathy the present 'distresses' which they suffer. 'Our sins!' he slowly replied, 'the measure of our punishment is not yet filled up!' I could only assent by a motion of my head.

"I then informed him that I was writing a tract, in which I wished to address his nation in as consolatory a manner as I could; but added, 'it will not all be consolatory.' He plainly took my meaning, as one who understood that it was impossible to speak agreeably to the truth of a suffering nation, without saying something concerning their sins. Yet I never felt more than I did at this interview a desire to address them with tenderness; and that verse in Isaiah,—Isa. l. 4,—was brought with fresh feeling into my memory: 'The Lord hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I might speak a word in season to him that is weary.' How difficult to do this! It is easy to chide with justice; but it is a high attainment, learned only in the school of suffering, to reprove with a merciful spirit.

“ To his expression, which he would ever and anon sigh forth, ‘ How long ? Lord, how long ! ’ I at length made some reply, drawn from the interpretation of prophecy. He listened with great interest ; for on no topic is it more easy to gain an eager ear in the east, than on that of the mysterious and unknown future. I limited myself, however, to general allusions to the period of twelve hundred and sixty years, now apparently drawing to its close ; and endeavoured to exhibit also some of these *signs of the times*, which indicate the approach of an important crisis, particularly mentioning the Bible Society, and the system of general education. As I described the convulsions which shake the continent of Europe, from the west to the east, he mentioned the affairs of Spain as being settled, and seemed therefore to infer, that no good had resulted from that movement.—I retired from this interview with spirits unusually depressed. I had felt throughout the whole conversation that my heart was drawn in contrary directions ; on the one hand, by emotions of pity for these suffering orientals, and, on the other, by a view every day augment-

ing of their sinful blindness and unchristian superstitions. While humanity pleads for them, Christian faithfulness cannot acquit them as innocent."*

While Chateaubriand has drawn with unrivalled beauty the moral picture of the Jew in the gate of the daughter of Zion, we think Dr Richardson's sketch of the surrounding scenery of the holy city, with its languishing verdure, its withered pasture, and its scanty soil, is not inferior in interest to any thing we have met with descriptive of the environs of Jerusalem. But in advertg, as we have done in the beginning of this chapter, to the investigations of travellers in regard to the antiquities of Jerusalem, we must be understood as alluding to the local antiquities of its rocks and mountains alone, for not one stone is left upon another of any of its stately palaces. So fully has Scripture prophecy been accomplished in this respect, that Richardson, who visited the holy city in 1818, informs us, that the greater part of the objects described by

* Jowet's Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, Egypt, and Palestine, p. 242.

the Jewish historian, Josephus, and by the inspired writers, are so entirely demolished, that no name, trace, or vestige of them can be discovered. "Not an ancient tower, gate, or wall, or hardly even a stone remains. The foundations are not only broken up, but every fragment of which they were composed is swept away; and the spectator looks upon the bare rock, with hardly a sprinkling of earth to point out her gardens of pleasure, or groves of idolatrous devotion. And when we consider the palaces, and towers, and walls about Jerusalem, and that the stones of which some of them were constructed were thirty feet long, fifteen broad, and seven in thickness, we are not more astonished at the strength, and skill, and perseverance by which they were constructed, than shocked by the relentless and brutal hostility by which they were shattered and overthrown, and utterly removed from our sight. A few gardens still remain on the sloping base of Mount Zion, watered from the pool of Siloam; the gardens of Gethsemane are still in a sort of ruined cultivation; the fences are broken down, and the olive trees decaying, as if the hands that had

dressed and fed them were withdrawn. The Mount of Olives still retains a languishing verdure, and nourishes a few of those trees from which it derives its name ; but all round about Jerusalem, the general aspect is blighted and barren ; the grass withered, the bare rock looks through the scanty sward, and the grain itself, like the starving progeny of famine, seems in doubt whether to come to maturity or die in the ear. The vine that was brought from Egypt, is cut off from the midst of the land ; the vineyards are wasted ; the hedges are taken away, and the graves of the ancient dead are open and tenantless. How is the gold become dim, and every thing that was pleasant to the eye withdrawn. Jerusalem has heard the voice of David and Solomon, of prophets and apostles ; and he who spake as never man spake, has taught in her synagogues, and in her streets. Before her legislators, her poets, and her apostles, those of all other countries became dumb, and cast down their crowns as unworthy to stand in their presence. Once she was rich in every blessing, victorious over all her enemies, and resting in peace,

with every man sitting under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, with none to disturb or to make him afraid. Jerusalem was the brightest of all the cities of the east, and fortified above all other towns; so strong that the Roman conqueror thereof, and master of the whole world beside, on entering the city of David, and looking on the towers which the Jews had abandoned, exclaimed, ' Surely we have God for our assistance in the war, for what could human hands do against these towers ! ' But the glory departed from Israel, the day of vengeance arrived, and the rebellious sons of Jacob are scattered, and peeled, and driven under every wind of heaven, without a nation or country to call their own; unamalgamated, persecuted, plundered, and reviled, like the ruins of a blighted tower, whose fragments remain to show the power that smote it, and to call aloud to heaven and earth for repair ! It is impossible for the christian traveller to look upon Jerusalem with the same feelings with which he would set himself to contemplate the ruins of Thebes, of Athens, or of Rome, or of any other city which the world ever saw. There is in all

the doings of the Jews,—their virtues and their vices, their wisdom and their folly,—a height and a depth, a breadth and a length, that angels cannot fathom. Their whole history is a history of miracles : the precepts of their sacred book are the most profound, and the best adapted to every situation in which man can be placed. They make him moderate in prosperity,—sustain him in adversity,—guide him in health,—console him in sickness,—support him at the close of life,—travel on with him through death,—live with him throughout the endless ages of eternity ; and Jerusalem lends its name to the eternal mansions of the blessed in heaven, which man is admitted to enjoy through the atonement and righteousness of Jesus Christ, who was born of a descendant of Judah.”*

We do not intend to enter into any details of what are called the “ holy places ” in Jerusalem, except to quote one description of the mosque of Omar ; or to disgust the reader with an account of the trumpery, mummary, and absurdities, if we

* Richardson's Travels in Egypt, Syria, &c. vol. II. p. 254.

ought not rather to call them the abominations, with which the eastern and western antichrists have overrun the sacred territory, farther than to bear testimony against it, both in thus expressing our own opinion, and in quoting the judicious remarks of the two travellers whose works have already afforded us some interesting information. Mr Jowet observes, that the “doctrine of the merit of pilgrimages has, for nearly fifteen hundred years, been a standing order of the Christians of Jerusalem. Yet of the deep-rooted error of this system, who are so insensible as the ecclesiastics themselves? Probably in reading the lamentations—still in many points most applicable to Jerusalem—they would appropriate this verse as depicting their state: “The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts.’ This, in a literal sense, is exactly the case at present.

“The more the circumstances of Jerusalem are reflected upon, the more they wound the heart. They may well be represented thus: The Latins live by remittances from Spain, and other Roman Catholic powers; the Greeks and Armenians by the contributions of the pilgrims; the Jews by

collections made in all the world, and by alms brought by devotees of their religion ; the Turk, in the midst of them, by exacting money from all. There is little common traffic in the city and neighbourhood, and very little stir or activity. Foreign purses are the source to which they principally look ; when these fail they pine and murmur."*

To this fact regarding the absence of trade, other writers also bear witness, as the author of *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*, who remarks, that "the city is without trade, and consequently exceedingly poor. Its principal revenue consists in the profit gained by the pilgrims."†

And Buckingham observes, that "in Jerusalem there is scarcely any trade, and but few manufactures. The only one that at all flourishes, is that of crucifixes, chaplets, and relicts, of which, incredible as it may seem, whole cargoes are shipped off from Jaffa for Italy, Portugal, and Spain."‡

* Jowet's *Researches*, p. 245.

† *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, vol. I. p. 420.

‡ *Buckingham's Travels in Palestine*, vol. II. p. 6.

To the system of pilgrimages to holy places, as they are called—the parade of processions—and worshipping of images, with which the name and profession of Christianity is dishonoured and burlesqued in Jerusalem, we may add the judicious observations of Dr Richardson, regarding the baneful effects produced by such mummeries on the minds both of the Jews and Turks, whose abhorrence of polytheism seems to be quite as strong as the Protestant's honest indignation and hatred of beads, crosses, pictures, and pilgrimages; and that of all places in the earth, Jerusalem is not the spot where the mind is prepared to bow to such charlatanism.

“ We should not expect to meet with any statues or carved images in Jerusalem. This is not the home of idolatry. The worship of the Jews had a higher aim. And simple as the idea may appear, it is the only country on earth where men kept animals, and stocks, and stones, in their proper place, and knew that it was a crime to exalt or fashion them into the image of their Invisible Creator, and fall down and worship them as gods. In the ruins of Jerusalem, a higher fecl-

ing takes possession of the mind than that which is occasioned by contemplating works of art ; and the discovery of the finest statues, so far from awakening pleasurable sensations in the mind of the Christian, would, like the ugly toad in paradise, only mar the holy enjoyment, and destroy that hallowed and unbroken connexion which the heart wishes to maintain inviolate between Israel's city, and Israel's God.

“ In cities where the inhabitants know no better than to worship the Almighty through the gross medium of material objects, the case is different ; there the mind is pitched for relishing works of art and human invention. It is their celebrity that throws the mantle of classical association over all the scene, and makes the amateur hunt after them with a frenzied avidity. But the feeling is of a gross and inferior description. It is that of a child to his rattle, or his whistle, compared with the thrilling and rapturous sensations of a man of taste and genius towards the sublime passages of Holy Writ, that purify, refine, and exalt the mind, and bring the soul into contact with its God.”*

* Richardson's *Travels*, vol. II. p. 269.

The Turks, who are the present masters of Judea, entertain sentiments of the most decided hostility to idolatry, or what they are pleased to call the many gods of the antichristian world, the devotees of the Greek and Latin churches in Asia and Palestine. "The Turks," says Dr Richardson, "are determined monetheists, and the unity of Deity is continually in their mouths, and they cannot endure the Christians whom they believe to be polytheists and idolaters; hence they will not associate with them, lest they should be infected by the contagion of their example; and their constant prayer is that they may be preserved from it. Their constant address to Christians is 'Allah watchet—there is but one God;' and in looking at the pictures and images with which the churches in the east are disgraced and profaned, I am sorry to say they have but too much reason for the accusation. The Turks have never seen a Christian church as it ought to be, and they have never seen, and they know nothing of Christianity; hence their aversion to it, and to Christians, and to every thing that comes from them. There is a remarkable coincidence in this respect between the Turks and the Jews. This

wonderful and unfortunate people, believing that all their misfortunes have arisen from their proneness to idolatry and polytheism, now, in the day of their calamity, hope for salvation and restitution by constantly avowing the unity of God. Ached, or one (God), is the last word that a Jew wishes his mortal lips to pronounce in the hearing of his friends upon earth; and when his soul takes its flight into the world of spirits, this is its only rest and consolation, and on this he confides for acceptance with Jehovah. Who will take the veil off Israel's race, and teach the Mussulman and the Jew that there is but one Mediator between God and man, and that there is no idolatry or polytheism in the religion of Jesus? To let them alone is miserable; it is to pass by on the other side, and leave the Samaritan to die of his wounds."*

Mr Jowet relates an interesting scene which he witnessed at Jerusalem, at the spot called the Place of Weeping, where the Jews, amid all the despotism, and tyranny, and extortion of their

* Richardson's Travels, vol. II. p. 286.

Turkish masters, are enabled to purchase, from their avarice, permission to mourn, and to pray one day in every week close upon the precincts of the Holy of Holies. The picture he draws of the pining away of the Jew under the brutal treatment to which he is exposed, is truly affecting; while the strong characteristics by which he is marked of suspicion and disguise, are the native fruits of being himself perpetually suspected. While we witness the degrading and demoralizing effects of despotism upon the feelings and lineaments of other nations, let us give thanks to God for our own civil and religious privileges, and bless him for that liberty which is the most precious boon of heaven, next to the gospel of Christ.

JEWISH PLACE OF WEeping.

“ Rabbi Isaac conducted us to see an interesting spot, to which the Jews frequently went on the afternoon of Friday. It is on the outer side of the wall of the mosque of Omar. Within the area which surrounds the mosque, none may enter under pain of death, unless he become a Mahomedan; but at a particular part of the outside

of the buildings, the Jews have the permission,—for which they pay money,—to assemble every Friday to pray. There were only eight while we were there; but at a later hour probably there would be more. On other occasions they are numerous; but the measures of the new governor have thrown them into consternation, so that they are not so forward to shew themselves. I observed, as we passed through the Jew quarter, and upon many faces in most parts of Jerusalem, a timid expression of countenance, called in Scripture *a pining away*, with a curiosity that desires to know every thing concerning a stranger; there is at the same time a stealing away from the curiosity of others.* We stood awhile with the worshippers at this spot, which they regard

* We re-entered the city at the Zion Gate, and turning down a little on the right, we came into the quarter of the town inhabited by Jews. We met here a number of that nation always conversing in Hebrew. There was an appearance of poverty, and a seeming love of concealment in the seclusion of their humble dwellings; and they themselves were marked by the same peculiarities of dress and feature, as all the other Jews that I had seen throughout the East."

Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, vol. I. p. 375.

as close to the place where, in ancient times, the Shechinah was ; and though the glory of the Lord has departed, they still venerate the place where he once manifested his presence. To worship here must be the summit of their desires : It seems to be somewhat in the spirit of David's vow, " In thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple."

The mosque of Omar, with descriptions of which every book of travels in the holy land is filled, stands on the site once occupied by Solomon's temple. None but Mahomedans can enter it under the penalty of death. Mr Jowet and his friends solicited permission to view it from the roof of the governor's house, which overlooks the mosque, the Sakkara el Aksa, and the surrounding spacious area, of which the governor's house forms one side. Permission being accorded, " We availed ourselves," says Mr Jowet, " of the moment, attentively to survey the solemn scene before us, where once that wonder and praise of the whole world, Solomon's temple, stood. The ample area is in some parts covered with turf, in others the bare rock shews itself,

and a few scattered trees scarcely suffice to give it the title of picturesque. The dome of the mosque is a truly noble specimen of taste ; but, pressing too low upon the subjacent part of the structure, it overwhelms the symmetry of the whole. It is, in fact, best viewed at a distance, when it is seen apart from the lower building with which it is connected, and standing pre-eminent for beauty among the buildings of the city—a pre-eminence, however, diminished by its mournful defect in moral beauty. Here they of the captivity in Ezra's days, 'priests, and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, wept with a loud voice' on beholding the inferiority of the second. Here the Hebrew and the Christian may now also mingle their tears over the violation of the true faith. Here are neither the holy precepts of the law, nor the inviting promises of the gospel, to dignify or endear the place. This splendid edifice, surmounted with the crescent, serves only to exhibit to all the world this desecrated spot, as a central monument of Divine vengeance. It may spiritually be called an 'abomination of de-

solation standing in the holy place, where it ought not.' "

Dr Richardson, who travelled in the suite of the Earl of Belmore, appears, from his character of physician, to have had a ready access to the houses of all descriptions of persons in Jerusalem ; and, among others, he failed not to visit the dispersed of Israel. He describes the Jews as residing in that part of the city, called, in Scripture, The Daughter of Zion ; and though many of them are in circumstances of wealth and comfort, yet the distrust they entertain of the Turkish government, leads them frequently to put on a greater appearance of poverty than is altogether necessary. In going to visit them, he says, it is no uncommon thing to have to mount to their dwellings over ruins and rubbish ; but, once admitted, every thing appears comfortable, clean, and well furnished, and the stranger is entertained with coffee and tobacco, the same as in other houses in Turkey. Contrary to the custom of oriental nations, the women mingle in their families with the same ease and address as in European society.

On paying a visit to a respectable Jew in the holy city, it happened to be during the time of the feast of the Passover, and he found them eating unleavened bread. "Some of which," says he, "was presented to me as a curiosity, and I partook of it merely that I might have the gratification of eating unleavened bread, with the sons and daughters of Jacob in Jerusalem: it was very insipid fare, and no one would eat it from choice. For the same reason I went to the synagogue, of which there are two in Jerusalem. They are both poor and small, not owing to the poverty of their possessors, but to the prudential motives already hinted at: yet it was delightful to mix with them in their devotions, and to see performed before your eyes that ceremonial worship by the descendants of that very people to whom it was delivered by the voice of God. I should look at the ceremonies of Pagan temples as a matter of little more than idle curiosity, but the ceremonies of the Jews dip into the heart. This is the most ancient form of worship in existence; this is the manner in which the God of heaven was worshipped by Abraham and his descend-

ants, when all the other nations were sitting in darkness, or falling down to stocks and stones. To the Jews were committed the oracles of God. This is the manner in which Moses and Elias, David and Solomon, worshipped the God of their fathers.* This worship was instituted by God himself, and in Jerusalem, the chosen and appointed city; and on the rock of Zion, God's holy hill, to sing a psalm of David, in company with the outcast race of Judah, winds to ecstasy the heart. The vital history of the Christian faith passes over the memory, and you feel as if you joined your voice with those chosen spirits who spoke through inspiration, and told the will of God to man. The time will come when the descendants of his ancient people will join the song of Moses to the song of the Lamb, and,

* This certainly was not the manner in which God was worshipped by the patriarchs and their first descendants, though, no doubt, a modification of it, but assuredly contaminated and corrupted in a very high degree, even eighteen centuries before this period; yet doubtless enough remaining, to excuse the spirit of fine enthusiasm with which the whole of this passage is written.

singing hosanna to the son of David, confess his power to save !

“ I never see the fine venerable aspect of a Jew, but I feel for him as for an elder brother. I have an affection for him that far transcends my feeling for a Greek or for a Roman, who have left the world but childish rhythms and sprinklings of a groundless morality, compared with that pure and lofty thought which pervades the sacred volume. I have a desire to converse with him, and to know the communings of a heart formed by the ancient word of inspiration. I would rather pity than persecute him for refusing the gospel. The thunders of Sinai once rung in his ears, need we wonder that they have sunk deep into his heart ? The rock must be struck before the water can gush out. The coal must be warmed before it can be fanned into a flame. The fort must be taken by gradual approaches. Zacchæus must be abolished by little and little. The Jews are a hard working and laborious people ; the world has never been oppressed by their poor ; the obstinacy with which they cling to their institutions shews the stuff that is in them.

Plundered and expatriated for eighteen hundred years, they have earned their bread from under the feet of those to whom the writings of their fathers reveal the will of heaven, and from which we derive the soundest rules of life, and the gladdening hopes of a future existence. One would say, that the son of Judah was a gem, whom every Christian would be anxious to polish and refine, by how much it is more blessed to give than to receive. They have given to all; but, saving the buffetings of tyranny and adversity, what have they received from the world? The elements of Christianity are incorporated in their institutions: when they consider and know them, they will see that the religion of Jesus is but the consummation of their own. Let us treat them like fellow-creatures: we owe them every thing, and they have not more of the original contamination of human nature than we ourselves."

Though we admire the generous and liberal tone of feeling which pervades the above expression of the emotions of this traveller, yet we do not altogether coincide with his train of reasoning. To pity and compassionate, either the afflic-

tions or the errors of the Jew, is not only a Christian's duty, but there are none bearing that name who could, consistently with their profession, be destitute of such sentiments. *To defend him, however, is altogether another matter, and is a gratuitous service which no Christian is called to perform:* "Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" are questions which would not have been uttered in the language of complaint, had there not been sufficient grounds for despondency and displeasure in the mind of the prophet. Neither would St. Paul have shook his raiment, and called heaven to witness that he was pure from the blood of his countrymen, had not their unbelief been a crime of a far deeper dye, than that to which we attach the mere name of obstinacy. But while it is necessary thus to draw a line between sympathy and approbation, and to guard the young mind from conceiving that the errors of the Jew are respectable or unimportant, we follow, with the greatest pleasure, the whole of this entertaining traveller's account of his visit to the Holy Land, and shall conclude our extracts from it with the following

interesting passage, unhesitatingly joining in its anathema on the cold heart that would not fervently reiterate its closing supplications.

“The sight of a poor Jew in Jerusalem has in it something peculiarly affecting. The heart of this wonderful people, in whatever clime they roam, still turns to it as the city of their promised rest. They take pleasure in her ruins, and would lick the very dust for her sake. Jerusalem is the centre around which the exiled sons of Judah build, in airy dreams, the mansions of their future greatness. In whatever part of the world he may live, the heart’s desire of a Jew, when gathered to his fathers, is to be buried in Jerusalem. Thither they return from Spain and Portugal, from Egypt and Barbary, and other countries among which they have been scattered ; and when, after all their longings, and all their struggles up the steep of life, we see them poor, and blind, and naked in the streets of their once happy Zion, he must have a cold heart who can remain untouched by their sufferings, without uttering a prayer that the light of a reconciled countenance would shine on the darkness of Ju-

dah, and the day star of Bethlehem arise in their hearts."

Every thing within and around the sacred precincts of this once holy city, demonstrate the truth of Divine revelation ; and the testimony borne to the prescience and faithfulness of Jehovah, is as striking and indubitable in the present state of the city, as it was in the days of the fathers ; manifested, no doubt, in the language of a series of dispensations of a character infinitely opposed to that of former times, but equally the doings of the Lord. For if "Jerusalem be trodden down of the Gentiles," it is not less the work of the God of Judgment, than its former manifestations of his operations in Providence were the doings of the God of Mercy.

The Jew loving his native land from the beginning, seems to love it also to the end ; and when at last despairing of the restoration of his people to the favour of God in time, he hastens to meet it at the moment of the resurrection ; and that he may be near to that spot of earth on which the long desired Deliverer shall first place his sacred feet, he desires to be buried as close to the res-

tiges of the temple, as the tyranny of the Turks will permit him to repose.

“ The Jews have their burying-ground on the north side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, over against where the temple anciently stood. It is the idea of many, that the scene of the day of judgment will here take place, according to a well known interpretation of Joel iii. 11—17, ‘ Assemble yourselves and come, &c.—Let the heathen be awakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat ; for there will I sit to judge on all the heathen round about. Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe,’ &c. &c. And these children of Abraham seem to have chosen this spot for the repose of their mortal remains, to be ready to rise at the voice of the Judge, and receive the favour promised to their people. The scenery on this side of Jerusalem is peculiarly bold, and well suited to inspire feelings of sublimity and awe.”

We shall here cite one or two more authors who give testimony to the same feelings regarding the love of the Jews for being buried in the Holy Land :—

"We quitted this spot," says Buckingham, "to return to the town, and in our way by the bath,"—the hot baths of Tiberias,—“we saw a party of Jewish women just coming out from the female apartment. Their conversation was in German; and, on inquiry, they said that they had come with their husbands from Vienna to *end* their days in the land of their fathers. A little after we met a Jewish funeral, attended by a party of about fifty persons, all males. A group of half a dozen walked before, but without any apparent regard to order; and all seemed engaged in singing indistinctly hymns, or prayers, or lamentations, for they might have been either, as far as we could distinguish by the tone and the manner of their utterance. The corpse followed, wrapped in linen, without a coffin, and slung on cords, between two poles borne on men's shoulders, with its feet foremost. A funeral service was said over it at the grave, and it was sunk into its *mother* earth in peace.”*

Burckhardt, in his *Travels in Syria*, mentions,

* Buckingham's *Travels in Palestine*, vol. II. p. 371.

finding a number of Jews at the same place, Tiberias, animated with the same feelings, many of Polish origin : the rest from Spain, Barbary, and different parts of Syria. A few of them, he says, find their way back to their native country, but the greater number remain, and look forward to the inestimable advantage of having their bones laid in the Holy Land. The cemetery of the Jews of Tiberias is on the declivity of the mountain, about half an hour's walk from the town; where the tombs of their most renowned persons are visited, much in the same manner as are the sepulchres of Mussulman saints. I was informed that a great Rabbi lay buried there, with fourteen thousand of his scholars around him.*

Sandys, who began his travels in 1610, relates, that the Jews in Constantinople, at that time, had the same veneration for the Holy Land as a place of sepulture, which modern travellers affirm of them at the present day. He says of them, that even after they have been buried there, they wait till the "flesh is consumed, then dig up the

* Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, by the late J. L. Burckhardt, *quarto*, p. 328.

bones of those that are of their families ; whereof whole boat-fulls not seldome do arrive at Joppa, to be conveyed and again interred at Jerusalem : imagining, that it doth adde delight unto the soules that did owe them, and that they shall have a quicker dispatch in the general judgment."*

Before taking leave of Mr Jowet's notices concerning Jerusalem, we may congratulate ourselves on the existence of a true church there, at least on one Sabbath, however few and scanty were the worshippers. Compared to the loud hosannahs of the many thousands of Israel who once worshipped under the "deep profound" of its blue sky, how feeble the lisplings of their praise ; yet that Jesus Christ was with them, no more admits of a doubt, than that, "wherever two or three are gathered together in my name I am in the midst of them to bless them," admits of any other interpretation than the gracious, though invisible presence of God in the assemblies of the faithful.

Sunday, December 14, 1823.—"In the morn-

* Relation of a Journey, begun A. D. 1610, to Egypt and the Holy Land, by George Sandys, *quarto*, p. 143.

ing," says Mr Jowet, "Mr Fisk, Mr Lewis, Pappas Ysa Petros, and myself, united in divine service in Italian. This is my last Sabbath in the holy city.—On this very spot did David once delight in these Sabbatic hours ! But what would he think, were his spirit to descend from its eternal rest, to see his stronghold of Zion dismantled, and his brethren, for whose peace he prayed, broken in pieces by the oppressor ? Were Solomon again to walk this earth, and view his unrivalled temple supplanted by the mosque of Omar ; or could Isaiah know that his evangelical raptures are still unrevealed to multitudes on his holy hill of Zion, and that the watchmen who should have kept their stand day and night upon the walls of Jerusalem have long since held their peace, and sunk into almost Pagan stupor ; or could the first Apostles look round and ask in this place, Who are they that have kept the faith ? what would be the emotions of their re-embodied spirits ! We, so greatly their inferiors,—not so devout, nor fervent, nor conversant with divine mysteries as they,—yet feel amazed, and utterly cast down when we contemplate so many visible

marks of departed glory. If, however, the work now beginning here, be—as we would humbly trust it is—right in principle, and the workmen right in heart, we must not despise the day of small things. Two ministers of the Church of England, one a missionary to the Jews, and another to the Gentiles, and a minister from the distant shores of the New World, uniting in prayer with a native minister of the gospel in Jerusalem, form but a small assembly, yet such a congregation as I once never thought to see. May our prayers for an increase of labourers be heard, and accepted by the Lord of the Sabbath.”*

The Jew in his native land,—if indeed Israel may be said to have a land,—is the same at this

* The above circumstance recalls the conversation of Wolff with the Samaritan Jew, Israel, *Scrivano*, to a Turkish merchant at Jaffa. “The Lord does not consider the number,” said Israel; “he considers those who love him, and keep his commandments.” And again, “We know that when *nations from afar* shall come to inquire into our state, the time will not be far off,—the time of the redemption,—the time of the arrival of the Messiah!” The Lord multiply these happy signs of the times.—*Scottish Missionary Register*.

day on the shores of the lake of Gennezaret, as the children of the captivity were in the land of the Assyrian, and on the banks of the Euphrates. The missionaries, as the guests of Rafaele Picciotto, a Jew in Tiberias, were permitted to witness the scene of his household performing their evening prayers. "About thirty persons," says Mr Jowet, "came into the court, and united in repeating the service, in conducting which, Rabbi Samuel was the chief leader. It was affecting at one part to see them turning their faces towards Jerusalem, bowing and lifting up their voices in fervent petitions. It reminded us of Daniel's supplications when in Babylon, who had his window open towards Jerusalem, and kneeled upon his knees three times a-day and prayed." (Dan. vi. 10.)

This same Jew, happy doubtless in the toleration which permitted him to worship even with his face towards Jerusalem, seems to have been equally satisfied, nay, even to have exulted in the petty and contemptible political immunities which he also enjoyed from the protection of the Turk. For having been formerly Consul at Aleppo, he had procured, on his retirement to Tiberias, a

Firman from the Porte, which he exhibited to these strangers, from the land of freedom, with a degree of triumph that only excited their compassion. This Firman, which was intended to guarantee his safety, and that of his family, in Palestine, and secure for him the protection of the several authorities under the Grand Seignior, he displayed before the eyes of his English guests, saying, while he kindled with a degree of animation, which proved that the feebleness of age had not extinguished the love of life, ‘I wish you could read Turkish, that you might understand my Firman; it is so strong, it cuts like a sword.’ We could not,” adds Mr Jowet, “but feel compassion for the man, who, living in this land of wrongs; clings to such a document as his sole security against extortions, oppressions, insults, and violence, which would otherwise be heaped upon him by every Turkish inferior wherever he might be. They who breathe the air of liberty, and walk erect in open day, and at night retire to a home, which however humble its dimensions, yet the common parlance of their country denominates their CASTLE,—such persons can ill comprehend

how, or why it is, that in Turkey the sole guarantee against the most unmerited imprisonments and exactions, is a piece of parchment sealed with the signet of the Grand Seignior ! Yet thus it is."

We may add to this account of the political degradation of the Jew in his native land, the following anecdote which was related to Mr Jowet at Safet: "In the evening some of the Jews called upon us ; one of them complained most bitterly of the treatment which he had received at the last festival of Succoth ; he had brought it indeed upon himself by having gone to some excess in wine. A Turk laid to his charge the crime of blaspheming the Mahomedan religion, when, without further witness or investigation, the governor ordered him to be punished ; and he swallowed, to use his own expression, five hundred stripes of the bastinado. '*Ho mangiato cinque cento bastonate.*'"*

The following instance may be given as another specimen of the indignity to which this poor

* *Ho mangiato.*—Literally, I have eaten.

persecuted people are exposed, in the land over which they once reigned in peace even from Dan unto Beersheba: "Travelling from Nazareth," says Buckingham, "we met a party of Jews on asses coming from Tiberias, to the great public market at Sook-el-Khan, who conceiving me, from my Turkish dress and white turban, to be a Mahomedan, they all dismounted, and passed by us on foot. These persecuted people are held in such opprobrium here, that it is forbidden them to pass a Mussulman mounted, while Christians are suffered to do so either on mules or asses."*

These evils are not of one or two years' standing: Sandys, who visited Palestine two hundred years before, in enumerating the population of the Holy Land, after remarking that it is for the most part inhabited by Moors and Arabians, those possessing the vallies, and these the mountains, says, "Turkes there be few, but many Greeks, with other Christians of all sects and nations. Here be also some Jewes, yet inherit they no part of the land, but in their owne coun-

* Buckingham's Travels, vol. II. p. 322.

trie do live as aliens. A people scattered throughout the whole world, and hated by those amongst whom they live ; subject to all wrongs and contumelies, which they support with an invincible patience. Many of them have I seen abused, some of them beaten, yet never saw I them with an angry countenance.”*

Having collected, for the information of our young readers, the most interesting notices respecting the descendants of Abraham, which we have found in the works of French and English travellers, the English missionary, and the Scottish physician,—for we conclude Dr Richardson is our own countryman, from the intimate knowledge he discovers of his Bible, an accomplishment common, we hope to all Christians, but peculiarly characteristic of laymen from the north of the Tweed,—we now proceed to describe the feelings of a converted Jew in the land of his fathers, and fervently pray that many such may run to and fro in the earth, and increase knowledge among their brethren, until there shall no longer be occasion

* Sandy's Relation of a Journey, &c. p. 146.

to say, **KNOW THE LORD**, for all shall know him from the least unto the greatest.

To shew the state of feeling in the heart of this converted man, who seems to be an Israelite indeed, we shall give one or two extracts from his journal expressive of his Christian experience, and his desires to be confirmed in the faith.

“ O that the Lord may have mercy upon me, and call unto me with the power of his Holy Spirit, Joseph, my son ; Joseph, my son ! Lord help me, I beseech thee ! Lord help me with the light of thy countenance ! O ! that I may become a Jew truly converted unto thee, like thy servant Paul ! Out of the depth, O Lord, I call unto thee !—I have heard with mine ears, my fathers have told, what works thou didst in their days in the times of old ! Thou art my king, O God ! command deliverance for Jacob, and for myself !

“ Thy law is so beautiful,—thy word, thy covenant is so beautiful,—make with me that new covenant, not according to the covenant that thou madest with my fathers in the day that thou tookest them by the hand to bring them out of the

land of Egypt, but let this be thy covenant with me, put thy law in my inward parts, and *write* it in my heart, and be my God, O Saviour! and let me be thy son, that I may have my delight in thee day and night!"

This Christian Hebrew, if we may so speak, is a native of Bavaria, who, being converted from Judaism, has devoted himself to the sacred labours of a missionary among his Jewish brethren. He has been twice in Egypt, and twice in Jerusalem; from thence he visited the Jews at Bagdad, where the prince of the captivity still resides; and now he is in Boosorah in Persia. He appears to be the Henry Martyn of the Jews,—fired with the same spirit,—animated by the same passionate devotion to the same sacred cause, and possessed of the same indomitable courage and superhuman energy. "A man who, at Rome, calls the pope 'the dust of the earth,' and tells the Jews at Jerusalem that 'the Gemara is a lie,'—who passes his days in disputation, and his nights in digging the Talmud,—who makes or finds a friend alike in the persecutor of his former or present faith,—who can conciliate a pacha, or

confute a patriarch,—who travels without a guide, speaks without an interpreter,—can live without food, and pay without money,—forgiving all the insults he meets with, and forgetting all the flattery he receives,—who knows little of worldly conduct, and yet accommodates himself to all men, without giving offence to any ;—such a man, and such and more is Wolff,*—may he not be considered as raised up by divine Providence for purposes not only of eminent service, but of eminent usefulness to the Jewish nation ?

“ By this man ” adds Mr Way, “ whom no school hath taught, whom no college could hold, is the way of the Judean wilderness preparing ; thus is Providence shewing the nothingness of the wisdom of the wise, and bringing to nought the understanding of the prudent.”

Mr Wolff having arrived at Jerusalem as an agent of the Jews' Society in London, had frequent interviews there with his brethren according to the flesh. Sitting at dinner one day with some English gentlemen who were his visitors, Rabbi

* Letter of the Rev. Lewis Way, from Palestine.

Mose Locot, one of the divines of the Talmudist Jews at Jerusalem, a Pharisee, entered the room, and after some conversation, Wolff asked him if he had read the Law of Moses and the Prophets? The Rabbi answered, "Yes; the name of the Lord be blessed for it." After reading the prophet Jeremiah together, they conversed about the present state of Jerusalem; Mose observed, "Jerusalem is a holy city, it has been once the residence of the Holy One, blessed be he; but Jeremiah has given a true picture of its present state."—Wolff interrupted him, and said, "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people?"—Mose interrupted him with tears, and said, "How is she become a widow!"

Wolff rejoined, "She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!"

The Rabbi, weeping, exclaimed, "Judah is gone into captivity because of affliction: the ways of Zion do mourn: O Lord, though our iniquities testify against us, do thou it for thy name's sake; for our backslidings are many, we have sinned against thee!"

I turned to my guests, says Wolff, and said, "Friends, witness the tears of this Jew on account of the destruction of Jerusalem."

After praying with an Armenian priest, Wolff exclaims, "O that I could so kneel down to prayer with one of my brethren according to the flesh, and pray with him to that Saviour who wept for that very city where I am now—who wept for Jerusalem!"

Mr Wolff was vehemently solicited by some of the Jews at Jerusalem to return to Judaism, and burn the New Testament,—to let his beard grow,—not to eat swine's flesh,—and to marry a Jewess. In the spirit of Paul he replied, "Dear friends, you know that I love the Jews, but I am now alone with you, and no Christian does hear me, I declare, even before you, that I believe Jesus of Nazareth is the true Messiah! I may accommodate myself to you in many things, just as St. Paul and Peter did. I am willing to let my beard grow,—to wash my hands before I eat,—yea, even to perform all those prayers of the Jews which are agreeing with Moses and the Prophets,

but I must always tell you, that I do not believe I shall be justified before God for performing certain prayers, nor by washing my hands, but by faith in the Messiah, who is Jesus of Nazareth : upon him we must look whom we have pierced, and mourn,—‘ And he believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteousness.’ I believe in Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour.”

Bathsheba, the wife of Rabbi Solomon, said, she would give him the books of the Rabbies to read, and he would be convinced. He replied, that he would read them with pleasure, so far as they are agreed with Moses and the Prophets ; but added, “ Christ Jesus is too deeply in my heart, no book can take him out of me. Read the New Testament, which I will give you, and you will be persuaded that Christ has commanded us to do nothing against the Prophets.”

Afterwards they went to dinner, and Mr Wolff willing, like St. Paul, to be all things to all men, consented to wash his hands before eating ; but when asked to perform the prayer that accompanied that ceremony, he declined doing it, saying, I cannot recite that prayer, for the Lord has not

given us that commandment, it is neither to be found in Moses, nor in the Prophets."

On being asked to perform the prayer common at the breaking of bread, he did so, saying, with a loud voice, "Blessed be thou, O Lord, our God, King of the worlds, who hast brought forth the bread from the earth."

When dinner was over, he begged permission to teach them a prayer which he often said at home; upon which he repeated, in Hebrew, "Our Father, which art in heaven; hallowed be thy name," &c. All the Jews present, exclaimed, "Exceedingly fine! exceedingly beautiful!" But when told it was taken from the New Testament, they were silent.

Being reproached and upbraided on account of his renouncing Judaism, he meekly replied, "I have not renounced Moses and the Prophets, but the tradition of the elders only; I believe in the Messiah of Israel, in Jesus of Nazareth!"

Oh! that many of the children of Israel were thus converted, then would "ten men out of all languages of the nations take hold of him that is

a Jew, saying, We will go with you ; for we have heard that God is with you." Zech. viii. 23.

It remains now to say a few words in regard to divine prophecy and its fulfilment, in the person of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as well as to point out a few promises, from the many thousands that might be produced, to shew that the Jews are still " beloved for the father's sake," and that there is laid up for their nation and people, even in this world, such glorious things as cannot enter into the heart of man to conceive.

The first prophecy that might be produced here, has already been hinted at in the introduction to this volume, viz. that delivered by Jacob when he blessed his children around him, " The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." Shiloh is by the Jews themselves acknowledged to be the Messiah ; and in their targums, —books of great authority among the Jews,—Ben Uzziel renders this passage, " Until the time wherein the King Messiah shall come ;"—and

Onkelos, "Until the Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom;" and in the targum of Jerusalem it is thus explained, "Kings shall not cease from the house of Judah, nor doctors that teach the law to his children's children, until the time that the King Messiah do come, whose the kingdom is; and all the nations of the earth shall be subject to him."*

That the sceptre and lawgiver are both departed from Judah, we have sufficiently proved in the melancholy history already related, both by Josephus the Jew, and by the various citations we have made from different authors in the course of our concluding chapters. To say more on this head would therefore be superfluous, unless it were to augment the strength of the argument, by bringing in the testimony of the Jewish rabbins themselves, to set their own seal to this truth. Kimchi, on Hosea, thus remarks, "These are the days of captivity wherein we have neither king

* See "*Two Letters from a Merchant in London to his Friend in Amsterdam*," whose train of argument is followed in these observations.

nor priest of Israel, but we are in the power of the Gentiles, and under the power of their kings and princes." And Abarbenel, on Isaiah, observes, "That it is a great part of their misery in their captivity, that they have neither kingdom, nor rule, nor sceptre of judgment :"* which acknowledgment is equivalent to declaring, that the sceptre has departed from Judah, and that no lawgiver now rules in Israel.

The next proof which might be produced from prophecy, is that regarding the state of the second temple : "Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory ? and how do you see it now ? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing ?" Yet again the same prophet exclaims, "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts : and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts." To this very temple another of the prophets declares, Messiah should come suddenly ; and surely by his personal and visible presence alone was it made to transcend the glory

* Ibid, p. 34.

of the first. It has indeed been argued that Herod the Great magnificently adorned the temple, long posterior to the time of Haggai's declaration ; but all the wealth of Herod would not have sufficed to have maintained the very men who were employed by Solomon in putting together the materials which David, his father, had collected for the building of the first.* Where then would he have found the iron in abundance,—the brass in abundance without weight,—the cedar trees in abundance?—the hundred thousand talents of gold—the thousand thousand talents of silver?—the timber, and the stone ? For “ of the gold, the silver, and the brass, and the iron,” saith David, “ there is no number, and thou mayest *add* thereto, for the house that is to be builded for the Lord must be exceeding magnifical, of fame and of glory throughout all countries.”† How could the second house approach the splendour of the first, or where was there ever on earth any thing to compare with this superb and unrivalled edi-

* The number of workmen employed by Solomon, exceeded three hundred and thirty thousand.

† 1 Chron. chap. 22.

face? The glory of the second temple therefore could be superior to that of the first, only by the manifested glory of Him who was "greater than the temple:" and if he came not to that temple, he cometh not at all; for, according to his own prediction, as we have already demonstrated, "not one stone of it is left upon another."

The next proof is that of the lineage and descent of Christ, as traced by the prophets from Abraham to the tribe of Judah, and from the tribe of Judah specifically to the house of David. This also was accomplished in the birth of Messiah, as is proved at length by the Evangelists, both as regards Mary and Joseph. But if the unbelieving Jew will still be faithless and unwilling to lend his ear and his heart to this assertion, how will he now ascertain the genealogy of any prince, who may arise for his deliverance, seeing that all ability to recognize him by this prediction is utterly and irremediably lost since their dispersion?*

* In Wolff's interview with the high priest at Bagdad, where the Prince of the captivity was present, the following conversation took place:—

We need hardly pause upon those two other scriptures, "the seed of the woman," and the "virgin's son;" both were fulfilled in the birth of the holy child Jesus,—while the place of his nativity was not more distinctly marked out by the prophet Micah, than it was authenticated by the Jewish records, and by the archives of the Roman empire.

I see, said Wolff, that you have here a worthy prince of the captivity. To which the high priest replied, We must have some prince, for it is written, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come." As the prince of the captivity was present, delicacy on my part was necessary, says Wolff, I therefore confined myself to the three following questions, and after they had been answered unsatisfactorily, I turned the conversation to another subject.

Has the prince of the captivity, in whose company I have the honour to be, royal power?

May he enact laws?

Is he of the tribe of Judah?

No, said the high priest, he has no royal power, he is a prince of the captivity; he has however a little, little, little power; he cannot enact laws, and we do not know our tribes.—*Wolff's Journal. Scottish Miss. Reg. vol. VI.*

We might go on to prove that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah by his threefold offices, namely, that he was a king, though his kingdom was spiritual, and "not of this world;" that he was "a prophet like unto Moses," but as much excelled the type in this respect, as, in all other things, he hath the pre-eminence; for he revealed the mind and will of God, in revealing the mystery of the Mosaical ordinances and institutions, shewing the nature, use, and end of all that was hidden even from the eyes and understandings of the Jewish nation, though they had been familiar with the letter and ceremonial of their ritual worship for many ages. And if we speak of him as a priest, "he offered up himself to God and the Father, a sacrifice of a sweet smelling savour; by which offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, and made reconciliation for their sins. He, by his own blood,—of which the blood of bulls and goats were but the types,—is entered into the holy place, that is, into heaven itself, where he appears in the presence of God for us."

The sufferings and humiliation of our blessed

Lord—no less clearly predicted, than the glory of his person—have likewise all been fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth ; and if our beloved elder brother would but ponder the writings of the Evangelists, as he reads Moses and the Prophets, he would discover that all which is written therein has been accomplished in our Messiah. Betrayed by his friend,—forsaken of all,—sold for thirty pieces of silver,—exposed to shame and buffeting,—cut off, but not for himself,—lifted up upon the cross, even as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, and for the healing of the nations,—his garments parted among the Gentile soldiers, who pierced his hands and his feet,—despised and rejected of men,—forsaken of God ! Is not this the Christ, the Son of the blessed ? or if one proof more be wanting, is it not found in the unbelief of the Jews : “ Who hath believed our report ? ”

From these ample testimonies of the identity of Jesus of Nazareth with the Messiah of the Scriptures, we might proceed to his resurrection and exaltation ; but, “ if they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe though one rose from the dead.”

With regard to the blessings which remain in store for the Jews, they seem to be, like the first promise to Abraham respecting his posterity, "so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea shore innumerable." (Heb. xi. 12.) Though scattered, cast out, dispersed, and persacuted, they will yet be sought out, and not forsaken. And, however commentators may differ in their interpretation of the manner in which they will be brought in again,—whether by a national and miraculous conversion, similar to their Exodus from Egypt,—or whether by the instrumentality of the written word, diffused throughout the world with a rapidity hitherto unexampled, through the medium of innumerable languages, resembling the preaching of the apostles on the day of Pentecost,—or whether, by the destruction of their enemies, and the enemies of the church of Christ, in the great day of God Almighty at Armageddon,* Rev. xvi. 14, 16,—all seem to be of opinion that they will be restored to the land of their fathers, and that every impediment will be re-

* Cunningshame on the Apocalypse.

moved to make way for those kings of the east to repossess their own territory in Judea. To prove this, a few quotations shall suffice :—" In that day will I make the governors of Judah like a hearth of fire among the wood, and like a torch of fire in a sheaf; and they shall devour all the people round about, on the right hand, and on the left : and Jerusalem shall be inhabited again in her own place, *even* in Jerusalem. The Lord also shall save the tents of Judah first, that the glory of the house of David, and the glory of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, do not magnify *themselves* against Judah. In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem : and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David; and the house of David *shall be* as God, as the angel of the Lord before them." Zech. xii. 6—8.

" These verses confirm the supposition that the grand accomplishment of this prophecy is yet future, and that it relates to the times when the Jews shall be converted and restored to their *own land*. Then their governors will be like a fire upon a hearth, that kindles the wood laid upon

it ; or like a torch put into a sheaf, as they will consume all those who oppose their re-establishment in their *own land*. *And Jerusalem will be rebuilt in its ancient situation, to be their habitation or capital city.* At the time predicted, the Lord will save *the tents* of Judah first. The conversion of the nation will begin among the more obscure Jews, and not among their leaders, who occupy the rank of the house of David, that these may not glory over their inferiors, as if the change had been effected by their power, sagacity, or influence, or assume any improper ascendancy over them ; or inferior persons, from whom less is expected, will be first honoured, as instruments of their deliverance and victories. At the same time, even the feeblest will resemble David in courage, faith, and grace, and be as eminent in every thing good, as that man after God's own heart had been : whilst the house of David, or their most eminent persons, will be as God, even as the angel of the Lord, or Christ, to go before them and set them an example."*

* Scott on Zechariah.

The same commentator, on Jeremiah xxxi. 7, and some other passages in the same eminently beautiful chapter, repeats the expression, "their own land," more than once; and it is not less delightful to a Christian to bring forward such good news, than it must be to a Jew to hear them.

"For thus saith the Lord, sing with gladness for Jacob, and shout among the chief of the nations: publish ye, praise ye, and say, O Lord, save thy people, the remnant of Israel!"

"The most powerful, renowned, and civilized nations on earth at this day, professing Christianity, praising God for his mercies to his ancient people, and praying for the conversion and salvation of the Jews, forms a striking accomplishment of this prophecy: But the re-establishment of Judah and Israel in *their own land* are especially foretold." And on the eighth and ninth verses of the same chapter, "There is abundant reason to conclude, that they predict a future gathering of the Israelites to Christ, and into *their own land*, from all the quarters of the globe." And, again, his notes on the fifteenth, sixteenth,

and seventeenth verses of the same chapter, the following beautiful explication is given of Rachel weeping for her children, in addition to the usual comments on the words, as they stand connected with Herod's murder of the innocents.

“ The sepulchre of Rachel was between Ramah and Bethlehem ; and she is here poetically introduced as rising from her grave, looking around, seeing none of her offspring, and inconsolable in her sorrow, supposing them utterly extirpated. The Lord here addresses her, and calls on her to refrain from weeping ; for her sorrow and labour, in bearing and bringing up her children, should not be lost ; as those who were left and scattered among their enemies would come again *to their own land.*”*

And, again, on Ezekiel, xxxvii. 25,—“ And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt ; and they shall dwell therein, *even they and their children, and their children's children for ever ; and my servant David shall be their prince for ever.*”

* Scott on Jeremiah xxxi.

“ This cannot possibly be interpreted of any events that took place before the coming of Christ ; and after his coming the Jews were soon driven from their own land, and have never regained possession of it. Yet the language is so expressive, that it seems plainly to mean, that the Jews should *dwell in Canaan* under the rule of Christ, from the time intended, through all generations, to the end of the world.”

And of the prophecies in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth of Ezekiel, the following explication is given by Lowth :—“ The prophecy contained in these chapters, without question, relates to the latter ages of the world, when the whole house of Israel shall return into *their own land*. Magog was the son of Japheth, from whence the Scythians are generally supposed to be derived. The Mogul Tartars are still called so. By Gog and Magog may most probably here be meant the Turks. The land of Canaan has been for several years in the possession of the Turks. The people here called Gog, and their allies, will attempt to recover it again out of the hand of the Jews. This may probably occasion the war and victory

here spoken of. The Septuagint takes the word *Rosh*, commonly translated *chief*, for a proper name; so they render the sentence thus: "The prince of Rosh, Mesbech and Tubal." Rosh, taken as a proper name, signifies those inhabitants of Scythia, from whence the Russians derive their name and original."*

And on Amos ix. 14 and 15, the same expectation of the restoration of the Jews to their own land is expressed by Lowth, Newcome, Scott, &c. "These verses ought to be understood of the happy state of the millenium, which may be supposed to begin after the Jews are *restored to their country*."†

"This part of the prophecy will receive its completion, on the future restoration of the Jews to *their land*."‡

"This cannot be interpreted of the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, for they were afterwards driven out of their land by the Romans, and continue excluded from it to this day: So that the future conversion of the Jews,

* Lowth.

† Ibid.

‡ Bishop Newcome.

and their restoration to *their own land*, and the security and felicity of the church in times to come, must be here predicted."*

" Since this prediction was delivered, (Matt. xvi. 28.) the Jews have been led away captive by the Romans, and to this present hour continue dispersed over the face of the whole earth. Jerusalem has never ceased to be trodden down of the Gentiles; being successively occupied by the Romans, the Persians, the Saracens, the Turks of the Seljuccian race, the Egyptian caliphs, the Latin Christians, the Egyptian caliphs a second time, the Mamelukes, and the Turks of the Ottoman race. These last are its present masters. But when the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled, when the 1260 years shall have expired, it will begin to be delivered out of their hands, and cease to be trodden down; and at length after all the political changes which it has witnessed, it will once more revert to its ancient possessors, *the children of Judah*. Thus are the Jews themselves, through the whole period both of their

* Scott.

dispersion and restoration, a standing evidence of the divine mission of Him whom they refuse to acknowledge as the promised Messiah."*

But the accomplishment of prophecy is a subject far too deep and mysterious for our contemplation, it is sufficient for us to believe and adore the wisdom that predicts, and the goodness that will fulfil it ; of this however we may be persuaded, that Judah and Israel shall be saved, that they will be restored to the land of their fathers, which hath thus, a second time, become the land of promise ; and that " Old men and old women shall yet dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, every man with his staff in his hand for very age ; and that the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls, playing in the streets thereof."† Then shall they call them, " The holy people ; the redeemed of the Lord,—Sought out,—A city not forsaken."‡

Will the Lord then indeed restore Judah and Israel to their own land ? Hath he said it, and will he not do it ? By what means, or by whose

* Faber, vol. II. p. 326.

† Zech. viii. 4, 5.

‡ Isa. lxii. 12.

instrumentality shall these gracious promises be accomplished? To this we can give no reply. But if the Lord hath said, "all they that devour thee shall be devoured; all thine adversaries shall go into captivity, and they that spoil thee shall be a spoil, and all that prey upon thee will I give for a prey,"—It becomes us to take heed how we act towards them, and how we add to the grief of those whom the Lord hath wounded.

Jehovah hath made "a full end" of all the nations who oppressed his people in the earlier ages of their history, and we ask in vain where is the Assyrian,—where is the Chaldean,—where is the Egyptian, the Mede,—where is the Roman that once devoured, spoiled, preyed upon Judah? Their very names are extinct from the face of the earth, and their nations have been absorbed in the powerful monarchies which conquered or succeeded them: While the Jews, after all the oppressions, cruelties contumelies, and calumnies, of which they have been the objects, are still, by a miraculous interposition of Providence,—like the bush in Horeb burning yet unconsumed,—a distinct people unto this very day. Nineveh, that great city, wherein'

besides its multitudinous population, were six score thousand infants, or persons who could not discern between their right hand and their left,—where is she? “She is empty, and void, and waste.”—Babylon, with her temples, her palaces, her gardens, and all her splendour,—where is she? or what is she? A pool for the bittern, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird!—And Egypt, with her monuments of art, her fallen columns, and broken entablatures, covered with a language which no man has been able to interpret for thousands of years,—what is she? Except on the borders of her river, a desert of sand, inhabited by a people so ignorant, that the poorest peasant in our own country is more learned than her imperious pacha!—The Macedonian, the Syrian, and the Roman, have equally disappeared from the earth; but the Jew is the same,—in visage, in habits, in faith,—as in the days of his fathers. And why? because God hath been pleased to preserve him, both for justice and for mercy. If natural causes had alone operated in swallowing up all other dynasties and kingdoms, how comes it that the Jews, suffering evils so much greater than other nations, have not

also been destroyed? Had natural causes alone operated, they must long since have been exterminated and blotted out, with the most complete erasure, from their place among the nations. But the Lord has been mindful of Jacob even in his misery: "I have scattered thee, yet will I not make a full end of thee. Behold I will bring again the captivity of Jacob's tents, and have mercy on his dwelling places; the city shall be builded on her own heap, and the palace shall remain after the manner thereof."

For her iniquity has Judah thus been scattered—for her tremendous guilt in crucifying the Lord of glory! The avenger of blood has pursued the deicide nation to the ends of the earth, and they have found in the wide universe no city of refuge. But the intercession of Him, who never "asked" without "receiving," will yet prevail for the remission of their sins; and, though his petition on the cross has been uttered and unanswered for eighteen hundred years, it will not be deferred for ever. "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do," will yet receive its full acceptance and accomplishment, whenever, in the revolution of ages, the time to

favour Zion, yea, the set time, is come: "For he that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him as a shepherd doth his flock."—"Yea, I will rejoice over them, to do them good; and I will plant them in this land assuredly, with my whole heart, and with my whole soul!" The children of Israel shall return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; and, while they look on him whom they have pierced and mourn, they shall also rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory!

In conclusion, let me ask the Christian reader, if he owes nothing to the Jew—nothing to the expatriated, persecuted Hebrew, that should impel him to use such means in his favour, as may, by the blessing of Jehovah, lead to his conversion, and to his restoration to the promised land. Christian, do you know any thing of God? Who instructed you? Who revealed to you the six days' work of Jehovah, when he created this beautiful world, and finished the earth, and the heavens, and all the host of them? Was it not a Hebrew?—Who told you of the sweet rest of the Sabbath, on which you have so often ceased from toil, and paused from care and anguish? Was it

not a Hebrew?—Who detailed to you the history of all the loving kindnesses of the Lord to his chosen people, amidst their oppressions in Egypt? all his wonders when he led them through the wild and trackless wilderness? Who told you that the name of the Lord, was like his benignant nature, the Lord God, merciful, and gracious? Who revealed to you the character and impress of his untainted purity in the moral statutes of his law? Was it not a Hebrew?—Who predicted the birth of Emmanuel and his love to the nations of the Gentiles? Was it not a Jew?—Who related to you the birth of Christ—the sufferings of the man of sorrows—his labours—his miracles of mercy—his pity and his love—his agony—his crucifixion—his resurrection? Was it not a Jew?—What knowledge have you of the true God—of the Saviour—of that light of the Gentiles, and glory of Israel, which you have not derived from the Hebrew lawgiver—from the Jewish prophets—Jewish kings—Jewish evangelists, and Jewish apostles? Do you then owe nothing to the Jews in return? If pity, if gratitude, if piety, do not compel you to put forth your endeavours in their behalf, will you venture

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also to resist the demands of justice ! Be that far from you. Give them your effectual fervent prayer,—give them of your gold and silver,—give them your precious Testament, in the language of their fathers.—Christian, you have much to give, and are they not poor indeed who lack your aid ? and is there not a Hebrew ready to receive your bounty, and to carry up your alms even to Jerusalem ? O, then, defer not the sweet work of mercy ! And, as you hope to see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven, shew pity and kindness to their posterity on earth !

FINIS.



LEITH :

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